

EUGENIC FANTASIES: RACIAL IDEOLOGY IN THE LITERATURE AND
POPULAR CULTURE OF THE 1920s

By

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A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1998

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To Jane and Perry Nies and Vincent Mirizio

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my parents Jane and Perry Nies and my husband Vincent Mirizio for their constant support during the composing process. Dr. Malini Johar Schueller, my committee chair, remained a continuing source of guidance and encouragement. Dr. Anne Goodwyn Jones generously held dissertation reading groups at her home, giving all of her graduate students the careful feedback their work deserves. My thanks to my other committee members, Dr. Carl Bredahl and Dr. Louise Newman, for being excellent readers. Dr. Marsha Bryant also provided strong feedback for my H.D. chapter. I especially wish to thank all of the graduate students who helped shape this project conceptually: Rhonda Morris, Gary MacDonald, Bill Beverly, David Russell, Lisa Houston, Maria Martinez, Tamara Olaivar, Scott Lucious, and Zareen Tarapore.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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August 1998

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This dissertation examines the function of eugenics during the 1920s in popular periodicals, pulp fiction, and the fiction of Ernest Hemingway, H.D., and F. Scott Fitzgerald. In 1924, eugenicists fueled the passage of the Johnson Immigration Act which reduced the number of Southeastern and Central European immigrants entering the country from seventy to fifteen percent of the total. Calling them "new immigrants," eugenicists argued they were racially different from their Northeastern European ("Nordic") predecessors. Even though Hemingway, H.D., and Fitzgerald reacted with disdain to such racial discourses, they recreated the science's values.

I draw on Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the "classical" and "grotesque" body and Julia Kristeva's theory of "abjection" to explore why such immigrants became the target

of legislation. Eugenicists drew sharp bodily dichotomies between Nordics and the new group, figuring Nordics as classical figures and Southeastern and Central European immigrants as grotesque, with wildly deformed bodies. Such dichotomies reinforced traditional class hierarchies unstable in a post-war era.

Hemingway ridiculed such eugenic rhetoric in his satire The Torrents of Spring: A Romance in Honor of the Passing of a Great Race (1925) which disparages Madison Grant's widely read eugenic bible The Passing of the Great Race (1916). While he debunks Nordic hierarchies explicitly here, I argue that he recreates its structural relationships implicitly in The Sun Also Rises (1926).

In her autobiographical fiction of the decade, H.D. attacks eugenics as patriarchal yet relies on its divisions in her portrayal of the statuesque white lesbian body and deformed immigrant bodies. Works treated include Hermione (1981), Asphodel (1992), and Paint It Today (1992).

F. Scott Fitzgerald ridicules eugenics overtly in his treatment of Tom Buchanan in The Great Gatsby (1925). Tom spouts the rhetoric of Lothrop Stoddard, author of The Rising Tide of Color Against White-World Supremacy (1921). Yet Fitzgerald returns to images of a whitened racial landscape as the text closes, suggesting a fantasy of return to a nativist Nordic land. He engages similarly with eugenic discourse in

This Side of Paradise (1920) and The Beautiful and the Damned (1922).

The study contributes to cultural analyses of whiteness and theoretical formulations of race.

INTRODUCTION

In Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination (1992), Toni Morrison provides an analysis of Marie Cardinal's The Words To Say It (1986), the autobiography of a white woman who, while attending a Louis Armstrong concert, experiences an emotional and mental breakdown. As Cardinal recounts,

My heart began to accelerate, becoming more important than the music, shaking the bars of my rib cage, compressing my lungs so that air could no longer enter them. Gripped by panic at the idea of dying there in the middle of spasms, stomping feet, and the crowd howling, I ran into the street like someone possessed.
(Qtd. in Morrison vvi)

Cardinal's feeling of dying takes form in what Morrison describes as "hallucinatory images of fear," "black" images Cardinal links to the racial relations of her childhood, in particular to a fantasy about a white child killing a black mother. Morrison notes that Cardinal's sense of death--"I am going to die!" she thinks as she runs from the concert--is associated with the blackness of Armstrong and a history of a fear of blacks (viii-ix). Getting better means killing off this blackness, eradicating it from her consciousness.

As Morrison rightly points out, such images of blackness pervade American literature, creating an "Africanist"

presence, often evil yet desirable, used to define by contrast the identity of white characters. These characters are not labelled as white but the reader knows they are white by the way they take form against a background of African Americans. Such contrasts are not limited to images of blacks and whites, I will argue, but rather extend to white/ethnic relations, as is evident in the literature of the 1920s.

Cardinal's experience of dying in the face of blackness also speaks to the central point of my dissertation, namely the relationship between merging and racial identity. For Cardinal, for whiteness to remain a marker of identity, she must separate it from blackness. She experiences a loss of boundaries at the concert, a thought visualized as the death of her body, perhaps because she fears she was going to merge either with the music (which "tore at the nerves of those who followed it" [qtd. Morrison vii]) or with those around her, thus losing her white form. As James Snead notes, "The fear of merging, or loss of identity through synergistic union with the other, leads to the wish to use racial purification as a separating strategy against difference" (x). Snead continues, "Marking, or supplying physically significant (usually visual) characteristics with internal value equivalents" follows in this effort to separate one identity from the other (x-xi). Cardinal's fantasy of cross-racial matricide is particularly interesting here; she kills off the mother figure, a Black woman, in her efforts to break free of her fear of subjective

loss. It is with the mother that the child first experiences a sense of merging. As Julia Kristeva argues, the child must "abject" her or reject her in order to finally establish a sense of both bodily unity and concurrent subjective identity.¹ Cardinal abjects a certain blackness when she runs from the concert and in her fantasy of killing the black mother, thus trying to create for herself a sense of physical wholeness, metaphor for psychic wholeness, one separate from those around her.

My musings on Cardinal's image and Morrison's interpretation speak to the heart of my dissertation in which I will argue that bodily image reflects subjective identity and the desire to demarcate the physical characteristics of the body as "racial" or "ethnic" rests upon the need to solidify both physical and psychological autonomy. The assignment of physical markers as "racial" or "ethnic" arrests a sense of merging. Attention to physical difference intensifies during moments of ethnic, racial, class or gender change when economic and social relations are in flux, accentuating fears of identity loss among those in positions of power. The disintegrated or dead white body becomes a symbol for this identity loss, one that can be imaginatively sutured through racial discourse.

¹ For Kristeva's theory of abjection, see The Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection, in particular, p. 70-74.

I choose for my project the 1920s because during that time, eugenics reached its greatest popularity. This racial discourse, which focused on the Nordic male body (one of Northern European ancestry), worked to solidify class, gender and ethnic hierarchies, rescuing the war-torn white male body of World War I from its vulnerability, restoring a sense of incipient wholeness and indestructibility through a racial narrative of timeless Nordic continuity. My analysis of this body extends from eugenic texts, popular periodicals and pulp fiction of the period into what has historically been located as canonical literature. I choose for my study texts from the 1920s corpus of Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Hilda Doolittle (H.D.) to show critically how the positioning of such texts as "national" or "feminist" occludes consideration of race. The same nativist dynamics which helped shape the image of the Nordic male as a hegemonic figure are unintentionally recreated in the critical tradition which tends to locate certain texts as representative of all "Americans" or "women" even though racial hierarchies are quite evident. And though each author was actually quite damning of eugenics, as evidenced in parody and satire, we find such a discourse reinstituted in more subtle textual form. Each author sought to re-member a war-damaged body or subjective identity through clear racial markers or associated the deterioration of white bodies with the influx of so-called "new immigrants" from Southeastern or Central Europe.

I have divided the study into five parts. In Chapter I, after briefly commenting on the eugenic discourses in circulation, I will review the literature on the body, showing how a fear of merging relates to the marking of the body as ethnic or racial. I will explore Julia Kristeva's notion of "abjection," Mikhail Bakhtin's concepts of the classical and grotesque body, Jacques Lacan's theory of masculinity and subject formation, anthropologist Mary Douglas's observations of the body, and law theorist Iris Marion Young's psychoanalytic understanding of race. I will finish the chapter with a brief commentary on certain trends in the criticism of Hemingway, H.D. and Fitzgerald and look at how those trends ignore the racial dynamics of their texts.

In Chapter 2, I review the historical moment in depth, looking at how the Nordic body, a Bakhtinian classical body, replaced the soldier's body of World War I. In racial fantasy, this soldier's body now finds a new form, one undamaged by the ravages of history or time. I carefully situate this body as it appeared in scientific and academic texts, in magazines and in such pulp fiction texts as Edgar Rice Burroughs's Tarzan series. I show how it contrasts with the ethnic body, one depicted as deformed, fecund, filthy, like Bakhtin's concept of the grotesque. I explore how the body not only stabilized ethnic and class difference through a rhetoric of nation, but also allayed eugenic fears about gender. At the turn of the century, the white middle- to

upper-class New Woman left the home for college while the "Newest New Woman" of the 1920s (as she was called in the press) gained the vote and touted new sexual mores. Eugenicists sought to place both figures back within the home as mothers, thereby attempting to restabilize patriarchal gender hierarchies undergoing radical change.

In Chapter 3, I review two 1920s texts of Ernest Hemingway: The Torrents of Spring: A Romantic Novel in Honor of the Passing of a Great Race (1925) and The Sun Also Rises (1926). Torrents, a satire of well-known eugenicist Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race (1916), mocks the eugenic investment in the Nordic body. The text also comments upon the fear of gender instability among whites which accompanied the increased sexual activity and social authority of the Newest New Woman. Then I will turn to The Sun Also Rises to show how Hemingway recreated a Nordic figure in Pedro Romero. Even as Hemingway challenged Nordic ideology in his racialized depiction of the "brown" Pedro, he still sought to retain the masculine ideology of the science, using a type of eugenic discourse to re-member the war-torn male whose subject identity had been seriously altered through the physical trauma of warfare. Anxieties about identity loss or a merging with the larger environment in death find their eugenic resolution in Pedro's classical timeless form. He also articulates again, in a serious vein, eugenic fears about the Newest New Woman in his figuration of Brett Ashley.

In Chapter 4, I turn to H.D. who, while primarily known for her poetry, wrote prose prolifically. It is in her prose that her relationship to eugenic discourse becomes clear. She reacted against the science and its normalizing gender strategies in her autobiographical text Hermione (written in 1927; published 1981), objecting particularly to the way the discourses of eugenics limited the identity of the college bound white New Woman. Yet she reinstituted some of its very values in her efforts to create a lesbian identity, one which defines itself through the abjection of the immigrant Other in both Hermione and an earlier text with the same characters, Asphodel (written 1921-1922; published 1992). Her narrators' fear of merging with another woman finds resolution in an elevated isolated brilliant white body. In the third prose text Paint It Today (written 1921; published 1992), I will examine how she attempts to negotiate a lesbian identity without abjecting the immigrant Other, a move which itself highlights the importance of race, class, and gender markers in delineating identity as a means of managing the anxiety of merging, a merging intensified by the bodily destruction of World War I.

In Chapter 5, I review the 1920s novels of F. Scott-Fitzgerald--This Side of Paradise (1921), The Beautiful and the Damned (1922) and The Great Gatsby (1925). In his first novel, Fitzgerald depicts death as a state associated with class and racial loss and the arrival of new immigrants. Fear

of merging with these ethnic Others becomes written as total subjective deterioration represented in the break-down of the body. In his second novel, he portrays the rise of a new immigrant to a position of prominence, a movement which coincides with the social and physical deterioration of the "old immigrant" protagonist, again a portrayal of identity loss figured physically. In The Great Gatsby, his most famous work of the decade, I examine how Fitzgerald, even as he ridicules eugenic rhetoric in the figure of Tom Buchanan, returns to its values when his narrator longs for an ethnically white Middle West, the home of his youth where names go unchanged for decades and snow covers the land. Here the desire to merge becomes written onto a whitened racial and physical landscape. In a postscript for the chapter, I will examine how Fitzgerald tried to rework such nativist ideology; in two stories published in The Saturday Evening Post, "Not in the Guidebook" (1925) and "The Hotel Child" (1930), he experimented with changing the physical form of his new immigrant figures as a way of integrating them into the American fold by reducing the physical difference of their bodies, promoting thus a vision of sameness.

The dissertation will conclude with a few thoughts about contemporary applications of my work and the continued importance of remaining critically vigilant in attending to issues of race, being careful not to create critical categories which occlude considerations of racial specificity.

CHAPTER 1
THEORETICAL AND CRITICAL CONTEXTS

The Historical Moment

As of 1890, immigration to the United States shifted drastically from primarily Northeastern European to a Southeastern and Central European point of origin. Cultural historian Peter Wang notes that while the percentage of "new immigrants" was only 7.2 and 18.3 percent of admissions during the 1870s and 1880s, they constituted 70.8 percent of the immigration between 1901 and 1910.² Seventy-five percent of these new immigrants settled in Northeastern cities, living in ethnic enclaves and developing foreign language presses (Wang 4). Their visible presence helped fuel the desire among eugenicists to separate these newcomers "biologically" from the old before their differences in belief or custom merged more completely with what eugenicists considered an "old immigrant" body politic.

² Edward Ross, an anti-immigrationist of the period, defines the groups accordingly: "old immigrants" were from Great Britain, Ireland, Germany, Scandinavia (Norway, Sweden, Denmark), the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Switzerland; the "new immigrants" were from Portugal, Spain, Italy, Russia, Lithuania, Magyar, Poland, Syria, Finland, Austria, Hungary, and the Balkan Peninsula (Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Turkey) (311-317).

Eugenicists divided the "white" races into three groups--the Nordics (of Northeastern Europe), the Alpines (of Central Europe), and the Mediterraneans (of Southeastern Europe). Each race purportedly had definitive intellectual, emotional and psychological characteristics which predisposed them for or precluded their participation in American citizenry. The eugenic impetus to ideologically regulate these newcomers coincided, as mentioned earlier, with a desire to reassert authority over the New Woman and her counterpart, the Newest New Woman. They focused on what they saw as a declining birthrate among Nordic women, caused, they believed, because of attendance at college. The lower birth rate also resulted, they argued, from the death of Nordic men during World War I, a war, I will suggest, which added to gender insecurities of white men as they faced the vulnerable nature of white male bodies. Eugenicists reasserted white male authority in their fantasies of the invincible Nordic, a conqueror since the beginning of time, who would save Nordic women from the threat of (new immigrant) miscegenation. Gender issues suddenly become racial issues as white males sought to retain complete social and economic control of white women. Anxieties about both new immigrants and white women coalesced in discourses of nation which figured the Nordic as its central icon.

By theorizing why Nordicism gained credence at this time, we can gain insight into the ways race and gender mark the body and protect the subject from the experience of psychic

merging or dissolution. The fields of psychoanalysis, anthropology and literary analysis all offer vehicles for theorizing a Nordic or "white" body, a body which to date has received limited attention in these fields.

Theorizing the Body

Racing the Body

Psychoanalytic literary critics have popularly turned to Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan or object relations theorists such as Nancy Chodorow to understand the dynamics of gender formation; unfortunately such a critical focus has occluded the consideration of race, a point highlighted by postmodern and postcolonial theorists who argue that axes of race, gender, class, age, etc. are all critical in the formation of identity. Part of the difficulty has stemmed not only from within the academy but also from the limited visions of the psychoanalysts themselves who failed to provide working models for understanding race. Freud's oedipal complex, Lacan's Symbolic, or Chodorow's gendered parenting all are formulations presumably bereft of racial context, posed as universal paradigms, applicable across cultures. The lack of attention to race by these major theorists stands in danger of being recreated by today's critical readers unless they develop models for integrating the multiple strands of subject formation. Psychoanalytic criticism remains a useful paradigm

for understanding racial identity; theories must be contextualized, however, to be applied effectively.

Outside the field of psychoanalysis, investigations of the importance of race and ethnicity to identity are multiple. Only recently, however, have writers begun the task of understanding how race plays a part in the identity formation of those who represent the dominant group, i.e. those who are unmarked by membership in ethnic or racial minority groups, who occupy the category "white." Richard Dyer, a film critic, began the cultural work of defining the category's boundaries in the late 1980s. He found that other identity markers--class, gender, nation, etc.--tended to mask whiteness as a category, making it difficult to define or locate, an invisibility which is the source of its representational power (45-6).

More recently, literary theorists have sought to adapt Freudian and Lacanian paradigms to understand the function of racial signifiers within culture, a move which highlights the conditions necessary for the production of whiteness. For example, Judith Butler argues that Freud's concept of the superego is comprised of social ideals which include the juncture of racial and gendered prohibitions (181). Subjects are formed not only through the incest taboo but also through laws against miscegenation. Through such laws white "purity" emerges as a concept, an ideal which requires "strictures of heterosexuality, sexual fidelity, and monogamy" (184). The

intersections of race and gendered laws suggest that both elements are integral to the cultural production of white identities, a point certainly overlooked in most white feminist literature.

Cultural theorist Kaja Silverman turns to the work of Lacan to show how race is central to the enactment of identity. Subjectivity, according to Lacan, is based on an absence or lack of being which the desiring "I" of language attempts to render invisible through identification with an ego or "moi" composed of mirror images. Initially the infant recognizes its body as separate from the "I" of language when it first looks in the mirror. Later the child recognizes itself in parental imagoes. Lacan suggests that the ego "at a certain level determines the structure of the subject" (Four Fundamental Concepts 52); it is composed of "the superimposition of various coats borrowed from . . . the-bric-a-brac of its props department" (Seminar II 155). Silverman adds to Lacan's formulation the recognition that this "props department" is composed not only of parental images, but of pre-formulated cultural images which carry racial valences; the ego is structured in part by racially coded fantasies which locate the subject within the larger cultural milieu. While she does not highlight the importance of whiteness as a

signifier of identity, her work points to the inseparability of identity and race.³

Law theorist Iris Marion Young approaches the task of analyzing the function of race in identity formation from another angle, similar to my own conceptions of race as figured by the eugenicists during the 1920s. Young relies on the work of French feminist psychoanalytic theorist Julia Kristeva who emphasizes the child's difficulty separating from the all-encompassing mother. Kristeva argues the moment of separation is "violent, clumsy . . . with the constant risk of falling back under the sway of [her] power" (13). The fear of merging takes the form of concern over bodily boundaries, over that which goes in or out of the body, whether that be blood, sweat, feces, urine, or vomit. Feelings of disgust over these bodily reactions arise from fears of dissolution and return. Kristeva suggests that this spitting out or abjection of the mother makes the distinction of the subject in signification possible. As a reflection of the earlier desirable mother, the abject remains, however, a point of fascination (13).

Struggles to separate from the mother are transferred in fantasy to social relations. For Kristeva, fear of the abject is directed towards "whatever disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules" (4).

³ See Silverman's chapter on Lawrence of Arabia for a racial reading of psychoanalytic formations in "White Skins, Brown Masks: The Double Mimesis, or With Lawrence in Arabia" (299-338).

Border ambiguities represent for the subject a threat to the boundaries of identity. Young applies this concept of abjection to the dynamics of race formation, suggesting that it contributes to "an understanding of a body aesthetic that defines some groups as ugly or fearsome." She proposes that racism may be structured by abjection, "an involuntary, unconscious judgment of ugliness and loathing" (145). While abjection does not account for the ways groups become defined by the dominant group historically as "ugly and despised," once the associations are available within a cultural mirror, these "associations lock into the subject's identities and anxieties" (Young 145). When minority groups gain access to power within the social system, members of the dominant group may react with "disgust and revulsion," abjecting that which would destroy social hierarchies and thus, the structuration of their primary identity (146).

For the purposes of my project, I will show how white racial identity is tied to fear of gender dissolution and/or social hierarchy by showing how immigrant bodies became abjected and how white male gender identities were threatened. Both Lacanian and Kristevan models of subject formation provide a structure which can yield insights into why at a certain socio-historical moment anxieties about gender and social order can lead to the production of whiteness as a crystallizing metaphor of identity. As Kristeva's work on abjection suggests, the body can operate as a meaningful

signifier of identity for imaginatively reasserting social order. I will explore how the white body became an icon for negotiating and resisting economic and social change and creating subjective order during the twenties. To understand how the body operates as a medium for responding to disruptions in the social order, however, requires further theorization.

Binding the Body

The importance of images of the body to social order has been documented by a number of theorists across the disciplines. Anthropologist Mary Douglas, in Purity and Danger (1980), investigates the purification rites within an array of cultures and finds that control and management of bodily contours are "analogies for expressing a general view of the social order" (3). Ideas about

separating, purifying, demarcating . . . impose system on an inherently untidy experience. It is only by exaggerating difference between within and without, above and below, male and female, with and against, that a semblance of order is created. (4)

Like Kristeva, Douglas links bodily boundaries to social boundaries:

Matter issuing from them [the orifices of the body] is marginal stuff of the most obvious kind. Spittle, blood, milk, urine, feces or tears by simply issuing forth have traversed the boundary of the body. . . . The mistake is to treat body margins in isolation from all other margins. (121)

Douglas concludes that fears about bodily pollution occur as a danger only where "the lines of structure, cosmic or social are clearly defined" (113).

Kristeva expands on Douglas' work, suggesting that "corporeal waste" serves as a metaphor for "the objective frailty of symbolic order" (70). She associates abjection with the power of the mother, with the semiotic, that which might disrupt or challenge paternal Law, the symbolic order of language which inscribes subjects into hierarchical categories of gender. She associates the "body's territory" with "a kind of fusion between mother and nature" different from "the order of the [Lacanian] phallus" where "embarrassment, shame, guilt, desire etc. come into play" (74).

Kristeva's work on abjection becomes applicable to the imaginative vision of white bodies if we place her work alongside that of Mikhail Bakhtin who offers a descriptive framework for visualizing how abjection is reflected through images in popular culture, literature and science. He shows how the body operates as a metaphor for social hierarchies and divisions which, for my needs, is necessary for understanding why immigrant bodies were portrayed as aberrant in comparison to Nordic bodies during the 1920s. He explores the variable representations of the body, from the "classical" to "grotesque" in the texts of Rabelais. In Rabelais' work, classical bodies are heralded by the "official culture" as icons of worship, to be admired, gazed upon with wonder; they

occupy some transcendental moment outside and beyond the ravages of historical time. They have closed orifices; they emit no bodily secretions, cleaved from their ties with the material world. Grotesque bodies, in contrast, have multiple orifices and protuberances--misshapen bellies and buttocks, penises and breasts--organs which signify the relationship of the body to its ever changing nature. Emitting, ingesting, begetting, they are forever connected to the cycles of pregnancy, life and death. Kristeva's abject mimics Bakhtin's grotesque; what Kristeva more completely locates in his wake on a subjective plane, he plays out on a social field. He sees social order created by the denigration of that which is spit out. He locates the grotesque as a site of fear and desire for those who identify with order and structure, with "official culture." In contrast to the classical body, the grotesque (like the desired abject) is joyful; it represents a celebration of the interconnection between bodies and the physical world, much like the abject which, for Kristeva, represents the connections between "mother and earth," a merging and jouissance which disrupts the symbolic order.⁴

Both Bakhtin and Kristeva depict a relationship between bodily images and social order. Kristeva takes her analysis a step farther, labeling language and social institutions as patriarchal, creating thus a division between the maternal

⁴ See Bakhtin's "Introduction" in Rabelais and His World (1-58).

body and the Lacanian symbolic order (language). The interpellation of the body within a symbolic system, of course, is dependent on a physical recognition and naming of the body as male or female, as "he" or "she," a point which will have later consequences in terms of subject's recognition of himself or herself within the mirror of cultural relations. The type of mirrors or representations available for recognition, also of course, will affect a subject's identity. While Lacan offers a certain fatalist vision--the subject is hopelessly destined to occupy an assigned linguistic-position-- , I believe gendered scripts are variable and open to reconfiguration. I will review Lacan's work on gender as it provides a vehicle for understanding why racial identities gain importance. Race becomes a critical signifier of identity when gendered--in particular, male--identities and bodies are threatened by external forces which expose the fictions of male omnipotence and the foundations of the body as material, forever subject to return to a merged state, in giving birth and in death.

Inscribing Gender

The Nordics defined themselves as a male race. Madison Grant described Nordics as "blond barbarians," "fighters," and "conquerors," masculine-identified fighting words which suggest that male bodies were the most visible symbol of an emerging Nordic culture. Understanding the importance of this

male body requires gender theorization, even if we must rely on a theorist who remains limited in his conceptualization of masculinity.

Lacan offers an in-depth view of the role of the body in gender formation as he locates anatomical distinctions which give rise to differences in power. While he refuses any direct correlation between "phallus" and "penis," the two terms are irrevocably tied to one another.⁵ Male bodies are recognized as such for their genitals, and those very genitals become the means through which male subjects identify with available father images under the terms of normative heterosexuality.

Lacan argues that males "have the phallus," meaning they identify with patronyms, with authority and with the cultural power with which fathers are invested while females must "be the phallus," that authority and power males do not have. The infant separates from the mother during the mirror stage when it recognizes itself in the mirror as a whole body, as one separate from the mother. It sees its image, its ego or "moi." The subject's entry into language as an "I" which sees its image separately is not whole but forever desiring the moi, the image that it sees. Subjectivity, then, is based on lack or emptiness, nothingness; the male child covers this lack by identifying with its mirror image within the cultural

⁵ Lacan uses "phallus" to signify the male subject's imaginary relation to paternal authority and power.

milieu, with the phallus. Females, Lacan argues, are expected to "be the phallus," to represent that which the male desires. While "being the phallus" suggests actually having power and authority, that is not Lacan's intent; he suggests that females support male images of themselves: "It is for what she is not that she expects to be desired as well as loved." But what she desires is male power: "But she finds the signifiers of her own desire in the body of the one to whom she addresses her demand for love" ("Meaning of the Phallus" 84).

Such gender dichotomies appear to have little to do with race other than reflect Lacan's own historical limitations; he writes as if all males had access to imaginary identifications with the phallus, a point problematized in light of the cultural images historically available for males of color. Certain groups have had greater access to real and symbolic power and therefore such groups' members are more likely to identify with Lacan's "phallus," with societal figures of authority. Likewise, Lacan's assertion that females must "be the phallus" because of a predetermined symbolic order also seems historically bound. Writing in the fifties, at the height of gender conformity, Lacan may have had trouble visualizing alternative identifications for women other than being that which males desire. The range of images available today for identification (many women seem to imaginatively "have the phallus," meaning occupy and identify with positions of power) suggest that patriarchal scripting of female

identities--so explicit in patrilineal naming--has undergone some change. The very variability of naming practices, changes in property laws, etc. speak to a shifting cultural climate in which gendered images are multiple, often contesting binaries. Lacan's formulations then must be culturally located. They are applicable perhaps during certain historical moments for certain bodies.

Because of these limitations, I find his work appropriate for describing white male subjects who lived through a time of gender conformity, particularly during the war hysteria of World War I during which time the government promoted the concept of the all-powerful white male soldier. This image changed in the post-war era as journalists, poets and fiction writers made clear the horrors of the war and vulnerability of male bodies. Kaja Silverman, who relies on the gendered concepts of Lacan, suggests that during war time, when men see the physical destruction of bodies, belief in the phallus is shattered (62-63). Men momentarily lose their identification with the symbolic Father with the collapse of physical bodily boundaries; "the traumatized veteran . . . can no longer recognize himself" within a "paternal imago" (63). War functions as a period, Silverman argues, of "historical trauma," a term which "represents . . . an attempt to conceptualize how history sometimes manages to interrupt or even deconstitute what a society assumes to be its master narratives" (55), making clear the "incommensurability of

penis and phallus" (63). Perhaps not surprisingly the "historical trauma" of World War I coincided with the eugenic creation of a Nordic body, commonly described as a fighting body. Silverman argues that a society will seek to reedify those damaged icons, to recreate "our imaginary relation to the symbolic order" by reconceiving the body as whole and undamaged, a function Nordic bodies served.

According to eugenicists, Nordics were conquerors who came over from Northeastern Europe and descended from classical Greece warriors. These myths found voice in popular "science" books such as Alfred E. Wiggam's The Fruit of the Family Tree (1924) and in periodicals such as Collier's, The Saturday Evening Post and Good Housekeeping. The Nordic, with his sealed invincible body, took the imaginative place of the wounded fighter who no longer identified with the phallus as the final authority.

Imagining the Nordic Body

By re-imagining the soldier, eugenicists reasserted the national unity of the pre-war period, naming the white male body as the only recognizable symbol of the country. Fears about the loss of physical boundaries, prompted by World War I, were projected onto new immigrants, who were now named as deformed and grotesque, proliferating and degenerating, connected to the processes of life and death. Eugenicists figured the Nordic male as an image of containment, one

separated from these masses. His ethnic other, caught in the throes of living and dying, imaginatively represented a lost maternal other, symbol of dissolution and boundary collapse, subjective loss so profoundly experienced in early childhood. As less-than-white races, Alpines and Mediterraneans were described in the press and eugenic texts as having dark, dwarfed bodies, weakened limbs and the amazing ability to reproduce. With their Bakhtinian "grotesque" bodies, these misshapen lower class immigrants, tied to their own materiality, crouched next to the aristocratic white Nordic "classical" male body, towering and statuesque, sterile (less likely than new immigrants to propagate) and adored. With his clean straight lines and impenetrable form, this body had survived history, occupying Bakhtin's transcendental moment, clean and separate from all psychic bounds which tied him his own materiality, his own mothered form. Gendered scripts were reclaimed through racist rhetoric; the fighting white male was finally restored, there to save the Newest New Woman from the trauma and dangers of her newly found freedom. The Nordic's return (or arrival) informed the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924. Bodily boundaries became national boundaries as the eugenicists made their stand.

The Critical Background

I have chosen for my study three authors who responded in very explicitly ways to eugenicism, mocking Nordicism as a discourse in their texts yet recreating its nativist sentiments. I also turn to their works to provide critical commentary on the function of whiteness. Whiteness tends to elude definition as it hides behind other markers of identity. In the critical tradition, this movement occurs when texts are inappropriately located as occupying universal categories, thus erasing the racial specificity of texts. The works of Ernest Hemingway, H.D., and F. Scott Fitzgerald have been critically framed as being either representative of the nationally coded literary trope, a feminist modernism, or a national dream, all markers which occlude consideration of eugenicism in their texts, leaving the racial dynamics of each text unseen. Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald have both historically occupied canonical positions in American literature, often located as representative writers for their generations of moderns, providing the American imaginary with symbols of heroes and dreams. H.D. likewise has been heralded as a representative of a feminist modernism in opposition to her male counterparts such as T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. To locate these authors as "national" or "feminist" representatives overlooks the racial tenor of their works, namely their texts' imbrication in circulating narratives of race. By situating their texts historically,

one can gain greater insight into the function of race and nation as it informs each author's depiction of whites or "Nordics" and new immigrant others; as H.D. puts it, "the hated tribe."

Ernest Hemingway, surely an author featured heavily in college curricula, has been long perceived as a man who produced distinctly "American heroes." Morrison notes this alignment between Hemingway's protagonist and the concept of the "American hero" when she calls Harry Morgan of To Have and Have Not (1937) a representative of the "classic American hero"; he is a "solitary man" fighting for "his freedom and his individuality" (70). Morrison, of course, troubles this concept of solitariness in her study when she shows how the concept of individuality is built in opposition to a denigrated enslaved Africanist presence. To be a "hero" is imaginatively to be always already "white." Yet critics, aside from Morrison, rarely mention, if at all, the race of this hero, an act which points to the ways whiteness tends to, as Richard Dyer puts it, "colonize the definition of the norm" (46).

This focus on "the Hemingway hero," as critics call him, dates back to the early thirties when critics first noted in Hemingway a commitment to "individualism." In the fifties, this hero became the "code hero" of Carlos Baker's Hemingway: The Writer as Artist (1952) and John Atkin's The Art of Ernest Hemingway: His Work and Personality (1952). This code hero

displays mastery over emotions, courage and honor. In the sixties and seventies, this hero emerges more as an existential hero, as Bhim Dahiya puts it, "[H]e combines with his modern consciousness the necessary strength to live his complex awareness of life" (12).⁶ The repetitive use of the term "hero" throughout Hemingway criticism well into the late eighties speaks to the desire to somehow set Hemingway's protagonists above and beyond others, within a narrative of transcendence in which the figure moves across the landscape to conquer all. As Stephen Clifford notes in 1995,

The promotion of the Hemingway hero may well be the most unfortunate development in Hemingway criticism. For many readers, it has authoritatively reduced readings of his fiction to a series of codes for the American pioneer and sportsman. (14)

What I hope to show in my chapter is that the "hero" or protagonist of The Sun Also Rises is distinctly a raced figure who never can stand for all of America, a positioning that recreates the racial ideology of the time of this "hero's" emergence, the 1920s. Hemingway searches in the text for ways to recreate the "hero's" body, a replication of the towering classical Nordic male body so popular at the time.

My next choice of authors, a white woman, of course, would never be situated as the producer of American heroes or national dreams as both concepts are governed by an ideology of masculinity. That doesn't mean, however, that H.D. hasn't

⁶ See Bhim Dahiya's chapter "The Hero and His Critics" for a full review of the critical literature up until the-nineteen-seventies(1-13).

found her own eulogizers who herald her as an icon not of the nation but of feminist modernism

Since the late 1970s, Anglo-American feminist literary critics have worked to locate white women's texts as valuable in their own right, apart from the characteristics of white male-dominated canons. Such a focus on Anglo women's literature, of course, happened in wake of the Euro-American feminist movement, which in the 1980s came under heavy fire from feminists of color such as bell hooks, Cherrie Moraga, and Gloria Anzaldua who rightly argued that mainstream feminists ignored considerations of race, class or gender in their construction of term "woman," posing as universal the white middle class woman as a speaker for all.⁷ Despite such responses, critics still celebrate the works of white feminist authors as representative of all women, even if their works reflect a consciousness shrouded in the conservative racial dynamics of their texts' settings. The desire to retain the progressive nature of the authors' feminist agendas tends to occlude consideration of their texts' racial specificity and

⁷ Bell hooks discusses Betty Friedman's assumption in The Feminine Mystique that all women are middle-class housewives (Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center [Boston: South End Press, 1984]). In This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color, Gloria Anzaldua and Cherrie Moraga offer commentary on the exclusionary nature of the term "feminist" (xxiii) (Watertown, Massachusetts: Persephone Press, 1981). Norma Alarcon offers an extended discussion of the white woman as the subject of feminist theory in "The Theoretical Subject(s) of This Bridge Called My Back and Anglo-American Feminism" (Making Face, Making Soul: Creative and Critical Perspectives by Feminists of Color, ed Gloria Anzaldua [San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1990]).

thus reinstitute (inadvertently) racial hierarchies. And it leaves unspoken the inseparable relationship between gender and race, leaving such interstices, long recognized as integral to identity by feminists of color and poststructuralists, firmly buried.

The feminist critical reverence for H.D. serves as a case in point. Her leading critics have long argued that she offers a feminist response to a literary movement historically defined by the masculine poetics of such moderns as T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound. Susan Stanford Friedman writes in 1990, "In recent years, H.D. has been read increasingly as a poet whose innovative lyrics and magisterial epics contribute significantly to the remapping of modernism, of women's place within its theory and practice, and of a woman's poetic tradition" (*PW* ix). The reference to "women" and "woman" here carries the traditional universalist valence so common to Anglo-American feminist criticism which has historically overlooked race and ethnicity as meaningful markers of identity. While H.D.'s masculine counterparts have received fair critique for their anti-Semitism and fascism, H.D.'s treatment of race and ethnicity has received limited (if not laudatory) attention.⁸ Her lesbian poetics and bisexual

⁸ Friedman argues that H.D., as a woman, bisexual and expatriate identified across borders; her own marginal status allowed her to "oppose and transcend racism through identification [which] came directly out of personal experience" ("Modernism" 115). Aldon Lynne Nielson takes issue with this perspective, arguing that H.D. participated in romantic racism so prevalent among moderns in which

persona of her poems and prose works have been widely heralded by Anglo-American feminists as liberatory, a move which ignores H.D.'s entrenchment and exposure to popularized eugenic discourses of the century's first decade. While her narrators of her autobiographical fiction ridicule eugenic discourse, damning it as constraining to both white and black female identities and race relationships, they also worship an elevated white identity as a means for calming terror over a lesbian semiotic fusion. Race functions as a means for relieving the anxiety of gender ambiguity of the androgyne and lesbian, so central to H.D.'s self-representations. While honored at times, racial others (H.D.'s "filthy" immigrants from Southeastern Europe or African-Americans) also provide the background contrast for a worshipped white lesbian presence. These grotesque racial bodies, to use Bakhtin's terminology, hover beneath the lesbian body, figured as statuesque, a subject of his classical realm. We find the Nordic male again transformed into a lesbian aesthetic written within discourses of race.

whites glorified Blacks as sexual, exotic, or primitive (88). Donna Hollenberg locates a similar dynamic in H.D.'s 1928 silent film Borderline and in her short story "Two Americans" (1934). Recent explorations of H.D.'s representations of ancient Egypt in later poems locate similar patterns. See Susan Edmunds, Out of Line: History, Psychoanalysis, and Montage in H.D.'s Long Poems (California: Stanford UP, 1994) and Meredith Miller's "Enslaved to Both These Others: Gender and Inheritance in H.D.'s 'Secret Name: Excavator's Egypt,'" Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature 16.1 (1997): 77-105.

My last author, F. Scott Fitzgerald, following more in the tradition of Hemingway, is associated by critics with discourses of nation, a point which finds explicit voice in the critical response to his signature work, The Great Gatsby, whose title character, many critics claim, signifies the American dream. Critics represent the dream dually as the rush for material gain and social privilege, and the remembrance of a lost American moment when settlers first gazed at the land and imagined conquering it. In 1945, Lionel Trilling described the novel's protagonist Jay Gatsby as someone who "divided between power and dream, comes inevitably to stand for America itself."⁹ Trilling's conflation of Gatsby and nation arises in part from one of the text's final passages, when the narrator Nick imagines Gatsby's dream for the wealthy Daisy as equivalent to the first colonizers' desire for the new continent. When Nick looks at Long Island where Daisy lives, upon which Gatsby gazed, he narrates,

I became aware of the old island here that flowered once for Dutch sailors' eyes--a fresh, green breast of the new world. Its vanished trees, the trees that had made way for Gatsby's house, had once pandered in whispers to the last and greatest of all human dreams; for a transitory moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent . . . face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder. (121)

⁹ Lionel Trilling, "F. Scott Fitzgerald," The Liberal Imagination: Essays on Literature and Society (New York: Viking Press, 1950) 251; appeared originally in Trilling's introduction to The Great Gatsby (New York: New Directions, 1945).

Other critics have followed Trilling. Marius Bewley names Gatsby as the "heroic personification of the American romantic hero, the true heir of the American dream" (227). He finds his forbears in the "young dandy of the frontier, dreaming in the dawn" like the young hunter he finds in the works of Davy Crockett (227-228); this dream is also materialistic, epitomized in the figures of Tom and Daisy Buchanan, finally empty yet still grand. James E. Miller, Jr. agrees, writing of "the gradual expansion of the significance of Gatsby's dream," an expansion which encompasses "the dream of those who discovered and settled the American continent" (11). Richard Lehan contends that "We move from a personal sphere (a story of unrequited love), to a historical level (the hope and idealism of the frontier and of democracy in conflict with a rapacious and destructive materialism)" (F. Scott Fitzgerald 13). Robert Sklar maintains that the "whole of American experience takes on the character of Gatsby's romantic quest and tragic failure"; in him we find the "history of a continent" (14).¹⁰

This critical interpretation which has garnered so many followers finds its critique more recently among those who realize that in the "American Dream," we find not only materialist achievement and geographical settlement but ethnic erasure. The new settlers colonized not an empty land but a

¹⁰ Also see Kermit Moyer, 48-49 for a similar reading.

full one.¹¹ Those who gained power and prestige throughout history do not represent "the whole of American experience"--but rather a select few who have succeeded in gaining societal prestige often at the expense of racial or ethnic others. Bryan Washington finds The Great Gatsby a text obsessed with "[e]thnic cohesiveness and familial continuity" in ways which devalue the plural nature of American society (37). He responds to Lionel Trilling's homage with the comment, "Readers who are not descended from the 'Dutch sailors' invoked may wonder at Lionel Trilling's depoliticizing and still largely unquestioned assessment of a writer now unavoidable: 'the root of Fitzgerald's heroism is to be found . . . in his power of love'" (52-53).¹² My work on Fitzgerald's three novels of the twenties agrees with Washington's stance; all three books reflect the racial ideology of the time. Fitzgerald's characters are all distinctly aware of their ethnicity; his texts function as a nostalgic return to an unchanging whiteness, a country covered with what we might figure then as Nordic bodies. Whiteness here is signified as a merged state, but its a merging with sameness, a merging so complete that no other folk even appear.

Hemingway, H.D., and Fitzgerald then recreate what their texts hope to dismantle. The lack of critical attention to

¹¹ See Richard Lehan (1990) 12-13 for an acknowledgement of this problem.

¹² Trilling, The Liberal Imagination, 244.

race functions as commentary on the function of whiteness itself in our culture. As Richard Dyer notes, whiteness tends to be masked behind other critical markers, whether they be, in these cases, literary trope, or discourses of gender and nation.

CHAPTER 2
"BLOND GIANT," "LITTLE BRUNETTE": EUGENICS AND THE MALE BODY

Bodily Image, Social Text

As Mikhail Bakhtin argued, images of the body are central to the creation and maintenance of social boundaries. Sociologists have also suggested that social relationships are structured by conceptions of the body: "The whole concept of body-image boundaries has implicit in it the idea of the structuring of one's relations with others" (Fisher and Cleveland: 206). Literary analysts have reached similar conclusions: "Body-images 'speak' social relations and values with particular force" (Stallybrass and White 10); "No absolute borderline can be drawn between body and meaning in the sphere of culture" (Ivanov 3).¹

During the 1920s, eugenicists made literal such cultural observations. Not only did bodies reflect social relationships, they were the primary means through which national membership should be determined (according to race), or so they argued. They suggested that "unit characters" (the

¹ From V.V. Ivanov, "The Significance of Bakhtin's Ideas on Sign, Utterance and Dialogue for Modern Semiotics," Papers on Poetics and Semiotics 4 ([Tel Aviv]: [The Israeli Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel-Aviv University], 1976) 3; Qtd. in Stallybrass and White 21.

concept of the Mendelian trait applied to humans) not only define morphological characteristics but intellectual and psychological characteristics which determine an individual's ability to succeed in a given state, in particular, within an American democracy.² Eugenacists, legislators and government administrators relied on scientific discourses of the academy to disseminate information about bodily dichotomies which served to determine the positional relationship of Americans of Northeastern European ancestry and incoming immigrants of Central and Southeastern European origin. As Stallybrass and White note, "[P]owerful socio-economic groups existing at the centre of cultural power . . . gain the authority to designate what is high and low in the society" (4). Prestige and access to power enable such groups to "create the dominant definitions of superior and inferior" (4).

Such a meditation on the body emerged in response to a complex array of social and economic factors following the Great War. In the wake of returning wounded veterans, romanticized conceptions of the glory-bound soldier faltered,

² Gregor Mendel labelled traits "dominant" or "recessive" in his famous study of wrinkled and smooth, yellow and green peas of the mid-1860s. He found that such traits were reproduced in offspring in mathematical ratios dependent on whether such traits combined from the parents in either dominant/dominant, dominant/recessive, or recessive/recessive patterns. Eugenacists tried to locate how human traits were governed by the Mendelian Laws of Inheritance. Grant lists examples of such traits as "skull shape, stature, eye color, hair color, and nose form" and then alludes to "temperamental and spiritual traits . . . associated with distinct physical types" (Passing 11-12, 31).

shaking a generalized belief in soldier as a national icon, a focal image around which food, Liberty Loan and Red Cross drives had been organized, around which many citizens rallied, an edified phallic national protector. In addition, social and economic upheaval characterized the home front; the labor market flooded with returning soldiers, war industries collapsed within months, inflation and unemployment rose.³ With over four million workers or twenty percent of the work force on strike during the year, the atmosphere was ripe for the Red Scare (Murray 9).⁴ Many citizens felt alarmed by the large number of recently arrived immigrants from Southeastern and Central Europe whose language and cultural differences, as mentioned earlier, were visible in the foreign language presses.⁵ The employment of many of these immigrants within

³ Prices doubled between 1914 and 1920. On the wartime inflation, see Elmus R. Wicker, Federal Reserve Monetary Policy 1917-1933 (New York, 1966) 21-23. See E. Jay Howenstine, The Economics of Demobilization (Washington D.C, 1944) 87-88, 179 for information on the collapse of war industries and the economic position of returning veterans.

⁴ I rely on Murray's figures here as Murray remains, despite the early date of his study (1955), the only person who has provided comprehensive coverage of the dynamics of the Scare. He treats all the major strikes in-depth and relies on a wide breath of primary sources, from newspapers to Congressional studies to material written and produced by labor organizers.

⁵ Wang reports that during the war, the foreign language press was made up of 137 daily newspapers and 1,250 varied publications (4). The use of native languages in the foreign presses raised concerns for many about the willingness of the immigrants to assimilate. Senator William Kenyon of Iowa tried to pass national legislation to make two hundred hours worth of English instruction mandatory for aliens up to age forty-five (Congressional Record, 66th Congress, 1st session 7568-7570; ctd. in Wang 44-45). A University of Chicago Professor of Greek D. Paul Shorey argued, "Foreign language papers and foreign language preaching retard Americanization

striking industries contributed to the growing sensibility that they were secretly communist infiltrators who have arrived to challenge not only class hierarchies but a national way of living and believing (Wang 7).

Eugenicists and their followers responded to such economic and social changes by delineating "natural" divisions between races which categorized bodies along axes of orderly/disorderly, regulated/unruly. The terror of the war, of the collapse of bodily boundaries made visible in the-war-wounded veteran, finds its palliative in taxonomies of bodies which separated the individual from the unregulated indistinct (merged) masses. Eugenicists created a race marked by rationality, intelligence and physical strength, relegating the immigrant other to a state of physical and emotional disorder. Nordics, defined as tall blond-haired light-eyed men, commonly depicted as "fighters," stood above the Alpines and Mediterraneans whose shorter, dark bodies indicated physical and psychological instability. Fear of merging with the world in death and bodily destruction finds its racial salve; the white body, impenetrable, lives on.

By recreating the fighting soldier, eugenicists appealed to a certain wartime ideological stability through the image of the undamaged fighting white male body. This raced body offered protection not against infiltration and penetration by

and promote clannishness" (qtd. in the New York Times, 23 Feb 1921: 11). See Wang, Chapter IV "Americanization and Assimilation" (43-51) for an overview of national anxieties.

the evil "Hun," but instead the bearded Bolshevik, the feared new immigrant who also would take the old immigrant's woman. A rhetoric of war was replaced by one of race, one that ordered not nations per se but classes. As Benedict Anderson notes, "The dreams of racism actually have their origins in ideologies of class, rather than those of nation" (149). Eugenicists transformed such class issues to ones of national security. Drawing on images of classical Greek statuary, they shaped their soldier, creating a figure of immortality and transcendence. The Bolshevik, attacked by the post-war soldier (the Legionnaire), became the new immigrant. Tamed by the Nordic, this newcomer had little chance of survival in this national family romance in which white men protected their women from alien intruders.

The drama of the Nordic war played out in popular periodicals such as The Saturday Evening Post, Collier's and The Forum. In pulp fiction texts of the period, we also find such theater, as evidenced in Edgar Rice Burroughs's Tarzan series whose central figure epitomized the characteristics of the fighting soldier who, in a transcontinental fantasy world, tamed insurgent "barbarians" and "savages" of other species or races who threaten to topple class orders and steal the American Jane.

The American Soldier's Body

The American soldier served as the template for eugenic creations, a towering fighting male with incredible physical and mental abilities who represented all that was right with the nation. During the war, the government--through its primary mouthpiece, the Committee on Public Information (CPI)--established the primacy of the male soldier as icon of national security through an extended publicity campaign aimed to recruit, then later support the soldier.⁶

In posters, this fair-haired, fair-skinned soldier commonly protects "Lady Liberty" in scenarios tinged with erotic overtones. His clean classical lines combine with a robust muscularity which together suggest omnipotence, creating a symbol of the American ability to stand strong and resist intruders. For example, in the 1917 poster "America Calls,"

⁶ While we may never know the extent of the influence of the CPI on the American public, statistics suggest wide reaching effects both nationally and overseas after the organization's creation by Woodrow Wilson in April, 1917. Millions of copies of the CPI's war pamphlets were distributed. The organization's Division of Syndicated Features sent stories to Sunday newspapers whose circulation ran as high as seven million. The Division of News regulated incoming war news and packaged it for redistribution to newspapers. The Bureau of Cartoons published a Weekly Bulletin to instruct cartoonists. The Film Division produced newsreels for movie houses. The Committee was the government's first large-scale propaganda organization. See Stephen Vaughn's Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980) 23-35. Also see George Creel's How We Advertised America: The First Telling of the Amazing Story of the Committee on Public Information That Carried the Gospel of Americanism to Every Corner of the Globe (1920; New York: Arno, 1972).

the white soldier stands rigid and straight; he has sharp angular chin lines and a clean-shaven short haircut. He wears his sailor's uniform, a model of respectability and honor. He holds the hand of a white woman who, draped in an American flag with a Statue of Liberty headdress, gazes beseechingly into his eyes as if asking him to save her. He holds a sword with a gun-style handle, as if he were a transposed ancient warrior (Rawls 74). He takes a more embodied form in the 1918 poster "Clear-the-Way!!" in which a group of shirtless-light-skinned soldiers grasp long cylindrical ship guns aimed at sea, while a pale woman, clad in low-cut sheer negligee type dress, stands in front of an American flag, her hand pointing the way to the oppressor. Their muscular backs are rippling in the light; a man with an officer's cap gazes seriously through binoculars, ready to ward off the foe from the scantily dressed young white woman (Rawls 222).

In other posters, the evil "Hun" stands ready to rape women or kill them and their children. His animal form bespeaks a certain loss of boundaries between man and the animal world. He stands ready to mutilate the body physically, to probe the orifices sexually and destroy the line between his body and theirs. In the 1916 poster "Destroy This Mad Brute," a thundering ape with jaws gaping carries away the nearly naked young woman. With her breasts exposed, a simple fold of drapery falling from her body, and the New York skyline retreating in the background, she stands in need

of rescue from an impending rape; the underlying caption reads, "If You Want to Fight for Your COUNTRY AND FREEDOM ENLIST TODAY" (68).⁷

Powerful white males were the primary image of the campaign but the Committee did produce one poster aimed at creating a sense of inclusion for African-American and foreign-born soldiers; titled "All Together," it pictured men of various nationalities and presumably ethnic and racial backgrounds joining hands. They don't look particularly robust or strong. They aren't rescuing Lady Liberty, the fair-skinned damsel, a point which anticipated the later eugenic fantasy--the nation, figured as a fighting Nordic male, would keep safe the helpless Nordic female from these ethnic and racial others. Romance became the underlying belief system, supported by an opposition between white male strength and white female docility, a scenario played out against a background of dark bodies.⁸

The CPI, the central agency for war information, laid the groundwork for eugenic logic when they located the soldier's body as clean and pristine, an icon of individuality, one

⁷ For a comprehensive collection of World War I posters, see George Theofiles' American Posters of World War I: a price and collector's guide (New York: Dafran House, 197-). For a less extensive but a better quality group, see Walton Rawls, Wake Up, America! World War I and the American Poster (New York: Abbeville, 1988).

⁸ In addition, the CPI's Film Division produced the feature film Our Colored Fighters and wrote scripts for one-reel pictures produced independently. C. L. Chester produced Colored Americans while Universal produced a film titled The Indian Gets Into the War. See Rawls, 143-144.

separate and in charge of the nation. George Creel, director of the CPI, wrote, "It was of greatest importance that America in this war should not be represented merely as a strong man fully armed, but as a strong man fully armed and believing in the cause for which he was fighting" (Home Reading Course xv). As representatives of the nation, these soldiers were to be morally correct and physically clean, with a body bereft of contact with the outside world. Through stories of individual heroism and survival, the organization created an image of the soldier's body as impenetrable, invincible, and sealed; the Home Reading Course advised that the "chances of . . . being killed or severely wounded are comparatively small" (60). The obsession with bodily boundaries began at the level of cleanliness. Soldiers were advised to bathe regularly and wash their clothes (donning clean underwear at night) (15); they were to sexually restrain themselves to avoid venereal disease (17). This concern ended at the level of warfare. The Home Reading Course reported that in six months of 1916, the total losses of French forces wounded or killed were only 1.28 percent of their total (60), a statistic which suggested a certain immutability in the face of obvious danger.⁹

⁹ J. M. Winter suggests that twenty percent of French soldiers were killed in the war (The Experience of World War I. New York: Oxford UP, 1989: 206). Robert Graves reported in 1929 that the "average life expectancy of an infantry subaltern on the Western Front was, at some stages of the War only about three months" (Goodbye to All That. 1929. [New York: Doubleday, 1957] 59).

Such a belief in the white male, powerful and separate, became marred following the war. As Kaja Silverman notes, the myths upon which normative masculinity rests--a certain omnipotence, an identification with the Father as orderer of marital, familial, religious and property rights--becomes shattered during war; "the disintegration . . . of a bounded and armored ego, predicated upon the illusion of coherence and control" occurs in the wake of the loss of physical boundaries (62). The once near classical white male literally loses control over his bodily boundaries, making visible his vulnerable material state. As Bakhtin notes, "The basis of the image [of the classical body] is the individual, a strictly limited mass, the impenetrable facade . . . [this body] does not merge with other bodies and with the world" (320). In wartime, this self-image is lost as bodily fluids cross the borders of skin, mingling with the outside, leaving marks of intrusion which belie the "impenetrable facade."

While Americans fared far better than their Allies and many returned uninjured, never having seen warfare, by the twenties, when eugenics reached its greatest fervor, journalists, poets and novelists made clear that Americans had not escaped its effects. They could just as easily fall prey to the dangers of warfare as their Allied counterparts. Robert Herrick wrote in the June 1920 issue of the Nation, war

is "the sport of mass slaughter."¹⁰ The Literary Digest which staged debates over the use of modern technical weapons--poison gas, submarines and bombs--suggested that "public sentiment" favored the banning of chemical agents in warfare; the magazine quoted the New York Evening Mail who commented that gas "will torture and poison honorable and gallant men not only through their lungs but through their skins," a clear message about the physical permeability of these "gallant" men.¹¹ Protest writers such as John Dos Passos (Three Soldiers, 1921), e. e. cummings (The Enormous Room, 1922), Thomas Boyd (Through the Wheat, 1923), Paul Elliot (Impromptu, 1923) and Ernest Hemingway (in our time, 1924) depicted the loss of bodily borders in their images of maimed soldiers dying in trenches. Instead of solidifying the reality of the fighting American male as unconquerable, such writers suggested that there was a terrific rift between romanticized war beliefs and actuality, between the isolated clean bounded male body and the lived reality.¹² The white male was secretly a material body.

The collapse of the belief in the invulnerable nature of the white male body and the sanctity of its body's borders coincided with the eugenic resurrection of a white male Nordic

¹⁰ Robert Herrick, "Telling the Truth about War," Nation June 1920: 851.

¹¹ "'Viper Weapons,'" Literary Digest 24 Dec 1921: 8-9.

¹² For an overview of World War I novels, see Stanley Cooperman's World War I and the American Novel (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins P, 1967).

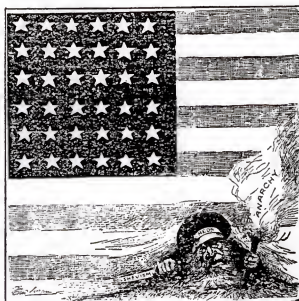
who presumably had existed since the beginning of time, a blond "barbarian" as Madison Grant called him, descendent of ancient Grecian fighters. The explicit racialization of the fighting image--he was "the white man par excellence" according to Grant--comes as no surprise given the emerging class conflicts of the post-war period in which new immigrants were flooding the work force, particularly joining industries which, during the post-war Red Scare hysteria, experienced an escalating series of strikes. Class divisions (and physical divisions) became suddenly highlighted as labor worked to maintain gains of the war-time period in a period of rising unemployment and inflation.¹³ The Nordic body became a signature of class stability; with its sealed borders, it

¹³ A lowering of a need for exports abroad with the resumption of industrial production contributed to increased unemployment and rising inflation (Wynn 202-203). In addition, government regulation of labor relations were abandoned. During the war, government regulatory commissions such as the National War Labor Board had intervened in capital/labor relations, negotiating important gains for labor in an effort to keep the nation's war production industries running smoothly. Historian Neil Wynn argues it lost its effectiveness immediately after the war now that "the unifying force of the war had gone" (106). Valerie Jean Conner, author of the most comprehensive study of this war agency, writes, "Never before had the federal government authorized pervasive policies to govern working conditions in American industries. Never before had representatives of organized labor shared equally with businessmen in determining federal labor policy" (The National War Labor Boards: Stability, Social Justice, and the Voluntary State in World War I [Chapel Hill: Duke UP, 1983] ix). Wynn reports that in 1910 only eight percent of the labor force worked a forty-eight hour week while seventy percent worked fifty-four hours. By 1919, forty-eight percent worked forty-eight hours and twenty-six percent worked-fifty-four. In addition, average wages rose twenty percent during the war (108).

stood above the crowd, a reminder of the separate nature of its identity, far removed from the borderless merged state of its war-time ancestor.

Bolshevik Bodies, New Immigrant Bodies

The Nordic male did not rise alone from the ashes of warfare but in conjunction with the bearded Bolshevik and the American Legionnaire, two images of 1919 prominent in the press. Figured as bearded, unkempt, with bulging eyes and distorted limbs (vague miniature reflections of the ape-like Hun), this Bolshevik crept out from the behind the American flag.



Copyrighted 1919 by The Philadelphia Inquirer Company
PUT THEM OUT AND KEEP THEM OUT.

Fig. 2-1. "Put Them Out and Keep Them Out." Philadelphia Inquirer, 1919; rpt. in The Literary Digest 25 Oct. 1919: 12.

In another cartoon, he tries to set off the bomb of "Industrial Revolution." His eyes glare ominously and his hair sprouts from his face. His clothes are tattered, indicative of class status, and a sign behind him lets the viewer know that he certainly is a "Red."



Protected by the George Matthew Adams Service
"CURSES: IT WON'T EXPLODE IN AMERICA."

Fig. 2-2. "Curses: It Won't Explode in America." Literary Digest 18 Oct. 1919: 18.

His opponent, the Legionnaire, was named "The New National Figure" by The Literary Digest. With his large strapping body, he tried to stomp out "Petty Politics," "Class Autocracy," "Anarchy," and "Lawlessness," the latter two an allusion to the evil "Reds."



THE NEW NATIONAL FIGURE.

Fig. 2-4. "The New National Figure." The Literary Digest 27 Dec. 1919: 18.

In newspapers, the Legionnaire wielded a bat of "100 Per Cent Americanism" trying to beat out the hairy immigrant "Revolution Maker" with big eyes and long hair who tried to spread "Propaganda."



"Come On!"

Fig. 2-3. "Come On!" Examiner (San Francisco) 26 Sept. 1919: 26.

While the Legionnaire anticipated the popularity of the Nordic, the short hairy dark-haired man functioned as the forefather of the new immigrant who, like his Bolshevik counterpart, had come straight from Russia or some other Southeastern or Central European land, aiming to break down the economic and political structure of America, at least in eugenic imaginations. Industrial owners fostered this image. Despite the presence of native workers in striking industries, dichotomies of race and nation selectively split labor forces and the new immigrant body was born.¹⁴

¹⁴ During the 1919 Steel Strike, which lasted six months and involved over 350,000 people (Foster 100; Murray 308), labor leader William Foster reported that in suppressing strikers, "Nothing was left undone to create a race [new immigrant] issue, and it is not surprising that many American workers, unorganized and ignorant, were misled by this and inveigled back to the mills" (Foster 197).

The U.S. Steel's Board of Directors Judge Elbert H. Gary solicited public support for industrial owners by spreading rumors about Bolshevik involvement while aligning the owners with the images of the nation (Interchurch World Movement-301-302). The company placed in Pittsburgh papers thirty full-page advertisements which claimed the strike was "merely the diabolical attempts of a few Radicals to seize industry and plant Bolshevism in this country" (IWM 99). These radicals, according to the ads, had strong immigrant connections:

THE STEEL STRIKE WILL FAIL, BE A 100% AMERICA, STAND BY AMERICA. THE STEEL STRIKE CAN'T WIN, BOYS! LET'S BE 100% AMERICANS NOW, EUROPE'S NOT WHAT IT USED TO BE, MAYBE THE DOORS OF THE OLD U.S.A. WILL NOT AGAIN OPEN TO THEM IF THE FOREIGN BORN NOW HERE RETURN TO EUROPE AND WANT TO COME BACK. (IWM 98)

Newspapers across the nation noted the "extraordinary hold which 'Red' principles have upon the foreign born population in the steel districts" (IWM 91-95).

Classical Nordic Bodies, Grotesque Immigrant Bodies of Eugenic Texts

Eugenic discourse with its fighting Nordics gained popularity in the early 1920s when Legionnaires, suffering finally in the press from abusing civil liberties, no longer were viewed as effective wardens of public trust.¹⁵ Eugenicists argued that Nordics, with their powerful male bodies, historically had always been rulers while the new immigrants, with their deformed bodies, historically composed the underclass. They carried with them a host of social ills--Bolshevism, "feeble-mindedness," stupidity, insanity, criminality, alcoholism--ills which eugenicists argued were hereditary, directly tied to unit characters, the very basis of morphological identity. The new immigrants were viewed primarily as occupying the lower labor pool. Calvin Coolidge remarked in Good Housekeeping (1921) that the new immigrant was a "cheap man" coming to make "cheap goods" (14). And a wide number of arguments were focused on "shutting the gates" to keep out cheap laborers who couldn't be assimilated and had arrived primarily to carry money back to their home nations.¹⁶ Taming this flood of underclass people--so

¹⁵ See William Pencak, For God & Country: The American Legion, 1919-1941 (Boston: Northeastern UP, 1989) for a history of the Legion which documents its many civil rights abuses, including the castration and murder of one of the International Workers of the World, an organization which attracted a fair number of new immigrants.

¹⁶ Concerns over the influx of cheap labor were closely tied to fears about race and Americanization. For example, The Saturday Evening Post editorial argued, "We have let down

closely tied to the terrifying strikers--could be effected through racial discourse which would finally, effectively, keep them from entering the country.

Madison Grant helped popularize the nativist/immigrant dichotomies with his publication of The Passing of a Great Race.¹⁷ Drawing upon the works of M.I.T. economist William Z. Ripley (The Races of Europe, 1899), he carefully outlined

the bars to the cheap labor of every European country"; this "dumping of cheap foreign men . . . [should be] of first importance to us" as it is turning America into a nation of "dire poverty"--"we are already half submerged, half Europeanized--slum-Europeanized" ("America Last," 4 March 1922: 22). In the same magazine, Isaac Marcossou put forth that cheap labor should not be allowed in as "immigration is a matter of biology pure and simple. The problem is to get a racial stock that can best be absorbed in the laboratory that is American democracy" ("Checking the Alien Tide," 5 May 1923:18). Kenneth Roberts, a regular writer for The Saturday Evening Post argued, "The new immigration is undesirable . . . as [i]t overcrowds the labor market, causes large amounts of money to be sent from America to the immigrants' homes and keeps down wages" ("Guests from Italy" 10). In Current Opinion, one writer suggested, "An admixture of unskilled handworkers who belong to poor racial stocks" has contributed to a steady rise in "asylums and jails" while "deteriorat[ing] our native stock" ("Keep on Guarding the Gates," June 1923: 652).

¹⁷ The Passing of the Great Race (1916) passed through eight reprintings and four editions by 1924, gaining popularity after the war (online, OCLC, 4 Feb. 1997). Historian Thomas Gossett suggests Grant's text had a powerful influence on eugenic thought for the following decade (354).

For a summary of reviews of the text, see "A Review of Reviews of Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race," The Journal of Heredity 14.2 (May 1923): 93-95. The author writes that while The London Times (3 May 1917), The Book Review Digest (Feb. 1919), The Dial (17 May 1917) and the Athenaeum (July 1917) were critical, the following newspapers and periodicals offered a positive response: The New York Times and the Tribune (13 Jan 1917); Nation (19 April 1917); Nature (London: 23 Aug. 1917); the Yale Review (April 1917); Geographical Bulletin (Philadelphia, July 1917); American Historical Review (July 1917); New York Sun (7 July 1918) and the British Medical Journal (18 August 1917).

racial identities as definable by skull shape ("cephalic index"), stature, eye, hair and skin color, and national origin. Following Ripley's division of race, Grant describes Nordics (from Northeastern Europe) as "statuesque," "long skulled, very tall, fair skinned, with blond or brown hair and light colored eyes" (17); they have a "roman, Norman, or aquiline nose" (27).¹⁸ Their stately bodies metaphorically reflect their rational natures, their sharp intelligence and ability to govern, to literally and politically tower over others. In contrast to these "giants," Mediterraneans are "long skulled" with "very dark or black" eyes and hair and "skin more or less swarthy. The stature is stunted in comparison to that of the Nordic race and the musculature and bony framework weak" (18); they are "dwarfed," of "primitive short stock" (25). Likewise, their character is "weak"; their emotional control is lacking so that they fail in terms of self-governance.¹⁹ The Alpines fare a bit better. From

¹⁸ Frederick Adam Woods of M.I.T. argued that Anglo-Saxons (a sub-group of Nordics) had longer noses than others--that they were "aquiline" in appearance and this was a reflection of their intelligence. He studied the noses of men in the service in the United States and Canada along with a long collection of famous leaders. The article includes pictorial representation of these long noses (all photographs of heads). See "What is There in Physiognomy?" Journal of Heredity 12.7 (August-September 1921): 301-318. Bakhtin notes that the nose may remain in the image of the classical body, its purpose limited to "functions of characterization and individualization" (321).

¹⁹ William McDougall, a follower of Grant, makes explicit the emotional differences between Nordic and Mediterranean races: "The Mediterranean peoples are vivacious, quick, impetuous, impulsive; their emotions blaze out vividly and instantaneously into violent expression and violent action.

Southern and Central Europe, they are "round skulled of medium height and sturdy build" with "hair and eyes . . . very dark [yet with] many light colored eyes" (18). They still fail in contrast to the Nordics, however. Forever a "race of peasants" (198), they are content to remain agriculturalists, easily dominated by conquering races. Grant drew a map of the races which was later reprinted by his cohort Lothrop Stoddard in the 22 March 1924 issue of The Saturday Evening Post.

Grant makes clear the association of class and race. The Nordics, Grant argued, were the only group with the mental capacity and emotional temperament necessary for occupying the ruling classes; they had conquered and ruled the other races throughout European history. He calls World War I a "civil war" between Nordics, the equivalent he argues of "class suicide on a gigantic scale" (200). He argues that the World War "will leave Europe much poorer in Nordic blood. One of its most certain results will be the partial destruction of the aristocratic classes everywhere in Northern Europe" (173). In contrast, the Alpines and Mediterraneans are of the "lower classes." Grant warns that "there is a great danger of a . . . replacement of a higher by a lower type here in America unless the native American uses his superior intelligence to protect himself and his children from competition with

The Northern peoples are slow, reserved, unexpressive; their emotions seem to escape in bodily expression and action with difficulty" (Is America Safe for Democracy? 83).

intrusive peoples drained from the lowest races of eastern Europe" (98).²⁰

Such views were presented before the House Committee on Immigration. Lothrop Stoddard, author of the popular The Rising Tide of Color Against White-World Supremacy (1921), published Grant's views in the 1924 Saturday Evening Post article "Racial Realities in Europe" and spoke before the House Committee before the Act's passage. Representative Albert Johnson of Washington, chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, consulted with Grant when writing the Act (Gossett 406). Both Grant and Johnson had strong connections with the eugenics community. Johnson was elected President of the Eugenic Research Association at Cold Spring Harbor, New York in 1923 while Grant served as an officer of the American Eugenics Society. He also was vice-president of the Immigration Restriction League for twenty-five years (Gossett 406).

The Act reduced the percentage of immigrants to three percent of the number of foreign-born of each nationality resident in the United States during the 1890 census and ended

²⁰ Eugenacists were anti-democratic; they feared the lower classes would overrun the ruling classes and dilute the character of the nation. Grant argued that the men who wrote "'all men are created equal' were themselves owners of slaves, and despised Indians as something less than human. Equality in their minds meant merely that they were just as good Englishmen as their brother across the sea" (Passing xvi). He argues that people living in a democracy need to be aware that who rules has been and always should be determined by heredity.

the 1911 Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan which allowed in restricted number of laborers, now reduced to zero (Wang 72). During the 1890 census, the majority of Americans were "Nordics," from Northeastern Europe. According to historian Peter Wang who provides detailed in-depth coverage of the discussions in the legislature during the Act's passage, Lothrop Stoddard's contention that a "pluralist society severely threatened the American character" was, to a certain extent, accepted (101). He notes that of the seventeen members of the House Committee on Immigration, only Chicago Democrat Albert Sabbath and New York Democrat Samuel Dickstein opposed the bill completely, arguing that it was based on the "unfounded anthropological theory" of Nordic superiority (101).

Such eugenic discourses offered the nation on an imaginary level a return to the soldier's body as an icon of wartime ideological unity. As noted before, Silverman argues that in the wake of any historical trauma, "the inevitable process of cultural binding . . . follows quick on the heels of any general loss of faith in the dominant fiction [i.e. the familial fiction which imbricates males within a phallic order]" (64). Eugenicists sought to bind the soldier's and nation's wounded belief in the phallus by creating a soldier's body which not only lived within history but outside the limitations of human mortality. An upper class soldier--a "ruler" and a "fighter"--the Nordic negotiated historical

ruptures of the post war period which threatened class stability. He replaced the damaged soldier's body, in its bleeding or maimed state, with an image of separateness and individuality, reflected in his tall clean figure.

Grant reinforced the class location of his warrior, one situated above the proliferating crowds, by locating his Nordic figures within a classical history. He draws his imagery for the Nordic fighting male from classical Greece, combining classicism with barbarianism; his figures are both untouched by history--a part of time immemorial--and within history--conquerors who survive. They are recognizable for their "statuesque" qualities and are extremely white; they have "absolutely fair skin" and therefore should be categorized scientifically as "Homo albus, the white man par excellence" (23)--vague incantations of marble classical statuary. Yet they are also fighters--they are "barbarians," mythological aggressors, "blue eyed Nordic giant[s]" (38). He traces their conquests throughout history, framing them as "blond Nordic invaders" and "white conquerors"; he finds that the "blond giant" was more active and brave than the "little brunet" (Alpines and Mediterraneans) in the recent World War (66).

And like the soldier, the Nordic was a phallic signifier; one of his primary jobs was to protect Nordic women from predators. Grant ominously bemoaned how immigrants "adopt the language of the native American; they wear his clothes; they

steal his name; and they are beginning to take his women" (81). The Nordic's job was to protect not only his family but the nation which was threatened by alien invaders who would "mongrelize" his race, polluting his women, erasing the boundaries between one group and another, leading presumably to the downfall of American society. Yet if he remains true to his racial group, limiting sexual activity to the monogamous confines of a racially "pure" marriage, he will survive history. His body--with its classical form--could be eternally replicated through unit characters which would insure the continuity of the race across time.²¹

The popularization of eugenic rhetoric which raised the white male body as an icon of worship and immortality finds its imaginary anchor within a field of cultural symbolism which has pervaded Western conceptions of the body since antiquity. As Bakhtin suggests, bodies have been conceived as split into categories of "classical" and "grotesque" since ancient Greece and Rome (30). The grotesque has been present

²¹ The unit character was also referred to as "germ-plasm" which itself was rather amusingly portrayed as bounded and invincible like the Nordic body. Paul Popenoe and Roswell Hill Johnson argued in their eugenic textbook Applied Eugenics (New York: Macmillan, 1918) that "germ-plasm is so carefully isolated and guarded that it is almost impossible to injure it." It can, of course, be damaged through miscegenation when "racial poison" sneaks in to kill it (63-64; Qtd. in Lothrop Stoddard, The Revolt Against Civilization: The Menace of the Under Man [New York: Scribner, 1922] 45). Their metaphors reflect widely circulating rhetoric in which the new immigrants were pictured as "poisoning" the nation with their beliefs and the bodies, a layering of metaphors which made bodies/nation synonymous.

in the mythology and art of "the Greeks and Romans of the preclassic period." During the classic period, the grotesque would be cast out, relegated to "'low' nonclassic areas" such as comic art, terracottas, comic masks, and popular statuettes (31) while classical images of the body were emulated in the form of statues. He identifies the grotesque with the breaking of distinctions between categories. A combination of plant, animal and human images, grotesque body forms represented an ever changing unfinished natural world in which processes of living and dying are celebrated (32). Such "low" images, available for consumption by the "masses" stood in opposition to classical statues which depicted the body as contained and elevated, fixed and immutable, separated from the natural world and its processes thereof, a symbol of individualism and eternal transcendence, available for consumption for the upper class (26-27).

Grant utilizes the image of the classical body to bolster the image of Nordics as a members of an eternally supreme race. He traces Nordic ancestry back to ancient Greece where Nordics were responsible for creating ancient civilization: "In Greece the Mediterranean Pelasgians . . . were swamped by the Nordic Archeans, who entered from the northeast prior to 1250 B.C. . . . There were also probably still earlier waves of these same Nordic invaders as far back as 1700 B.C., which was a period of migration throughout the ancient world" (144). The same invasion brought Nordics to "Asia Minor," so that

Nordics formed not only the backbone of Greek armies but also the Trojans: "both the Trojans and the Greeks were commanded by huge blond princes, the heroes of Homer" (144). Grant imagines Nordics were models for Greek gods: "The gods of Olympus were almost all described as blond, and it would be difficult to imagine a Greek artist painting a brunette Venus" (199).

The Nordic will survive, however, only if he remains loyal to his race, limiting his sexual relationships to Nordic women. To mate with what eugenicists considered other "races"--portrayed as promiscuous, fertile, ever producing--will produce a race of "mongrels" or "bastards," words which suggest animal impurities which reduce the value of the original and bespeak of a lost paternity, the creation of a race no father would claim. Grant writes, "Where two distinct species are located side by side history and biology teach that but one of two things can happen; either one race drives the other out, as the Americans exterminated the Indians . . .; or else they amalgamate and form a population of race bastards in which the lower type usually preponderates" (69). Mediterraneans and Alpines are, after all, closer to "wild mammals" (22). They outdo the Nordic in fecundity. The Nordic must be preserved, kept separate, aloft, for if he intermarries with these "inferior races," there will be produced "amazing racial hybrids" and "ethnic horrors" in which the "lowest and most primitive elements" ("ancient dark

traits" [16]) will replace the "specialized traits of Nordic man; his stature, his light colored eyes, his fair skin and blond hair, his straight nose, and his splendid fighting and moral qualities" (81-82). The classical man will be brought low, reduced to animal proclivities, sent back to a former archaic animal state, stripped of his pedestaled throne.²²

Like other eugenicists, Grant argues that Greece fell as a civilization because Nordics failed to restrict themselves sexually to their own race; a lost civilization results finally from miscegenation: The "original Nordic blood [was] hopelessly diluted by mixture with the ancient Mediterranean elements" (those from Macedon) (146) which led to the fall of

²² Some eugenicists believed that gross physical and emotional problems could result from miscegenation. Popenoe and Johnson argued, "Where races differ markedly in size or relative proportions, it is argued that the offspring may inherit separate and unconformable elements from the respective parents. Thus a child with the short legs of a Japanese terminated by the large feet of a Nordic might find himself conspicuous. If he inherited a small body from one parent and large vital organs from another, the latter might find themselves inconveniently crowded in the thorax and abdomen. . . . [W]here a long-skulled race has mixed most freely with a broad-skulled one, it is claimed that there is a striking excess of eye defects" (285). Dr. Charles B. Davenport, director of the Eugenics Record Office in Cold Spring Harbor, New York, argued that if a Scot and an Italian were to mate, the hybrid of the two "races" would yield "children with large frames and inadequate viscera--children of whom it is said every inch over 5' 10" is a danger." Such physical incongruities lead to emotional and intellectual inadequacies. Davenport continues, "[H]ybridized people are a badly put together people and a dissatisfied, restless, ineffective people. One wonders how much . . . of our crime and insanity is due to mental and temperamental friction." (Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, -1917:364-368. Qtd. in Gossett 379-380).

Greece.²³ The Greek state which survived the longest was due to Nordic "blood," typified in Alexander "with his Nordic features, aquiline nose, gently curling yellow hair" (147). Yet despite such a dissolution of the Greek empire, the Nordic inexplicably survives today, carrying these ancient Grecian features. Grant concludes, "It is not possible to-day to find in purity the physical traits of the ancient race in the Greek-speaking lands and islands, and it is chiefly among the pure Nordics of Anglo-Norman type that there occur those smooth and regular classic features, especially the brow and nose lines, that were the delight of the sculptors of Hellas" (147).

Nordics then, for Grant, were the contemporary versions of classical Greek statues. Eugenacists became obsessed with tracing the features of these classical fighting men, trying to locate Greek resemblances.²⁴ Lothrop Stoddard popularized Grant's ideas in The Rising Tides of Color Against White-World

²³ Sociologist Edward A. Ross compared the fall of Rome to the decay of Nordic America (due to sterility) and wrote of the horror of the rise of immigrant "blood" (303-304).

²⁴ Grant was joined by a host of eugenacists who argued the ancient Greeks (or Romans) were Nordics. See, for example, Clinton Stoddard Burr's America's Race Heritage (1922); Ferdinand Canning and Scott Schiller's Eugenics & Politics (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1926); William MacDougall's Is America Safe for Democracy? (1921). Grant felt that the ancient Romans may also have been Nordic: "To what extent the Mediterranean race entered into the blood and civilization of Rome, it is now difficult to say, but the traditions of the eternal City, its love of organization, of law an military efficiency, as well as the Roman ideals of family life, loyalty, and truth, point clearly to a Nordic rather than to a Mediterranean origin (Passing 138).

Supremacy, a book which passed through seven reprints and four editions between 1920 and 1927 and two foreign language translations. Stoddard also helped popularize Grant's concepts in The Saturday Evening Post and Collier's. Alfred E. Wiggam also forwarded Grant's ideas in such well-selling "eugenics made easy" texts such as The New Decalogue of Science, which was reissued in four editions and four reprints between 1922 and 1926; sections were reprinted from Century Magazine and The Pictorial Review. The Fruit of the Family Tree, also mirroring many of Grant's ideas, sold widely with four editions and three reprints between 1924 and 1926; sections were reprinted from The Pictorial Review.²⁵

Wiggam is the most adamant of the three in delineating in both his texts the Greeks as the ancestors of the Nordics; he also, however, retains the image of the "blond Nordic" as a strong conquering male--"large, strong and athletic," "more courageous . . . more adventurous, . . . more dominating" than the "brunette races," more capable of ruling--[m]ore will-power, scientific and governing ability and more self-control in political and social affairs than the south European peoples" (Fruit 283).

He makes explicit the connection between outward looks and "germ-cells" or "germ plasm," another name for the "unit characters" advocated by Grant which carried the intelligence, psychological and emotional characteristics of a "race."

²⁵ Online, OCLC, 4 Feb. 1997.

Wiggam suggests that "Greek mothers . . . gaz[ed] for hours . . . at the beautiful statues and pictures in the Grecian temples"; the physical mirror of the mothers reflected the "inborn characters in the germ-cells of the Greek people" (Fruit 100). He finds Greek characteristics replicated in the faces of Nordics, a point which suggests inner characteristics as well. He studies the portraits of famous Nordics and finds that the Nordic has a Greek face--

delicately molded face, with the eyes fairly close together, the nose thin, straight and beautifully chiseled, the eyes deeply set, and the eyebrows and arches above the eyes--the orbital arch--sweeping outward in a gentle delicate curve, and the cheek-bones subdued and flowing down with fine contour toward the mouth and the lower part of the face. (265)

Wiggam names this "Greek type" as evidence not only of "beauty" but of "character," "virtue and intelligence" (273). Noticeably its lines are clean and smooth, almost like a statue's--with its "chiseled" nose, and eyebrows leading to a "delicate curve," cheek-bones creating a "fine contour," as if the face were art work on display. He contrasts these bodies with new immigrant bodies, what Grant had already established as inferior.

Wiggam makes more evident than Grant the ways in which these classical bodies veer from their grotesque counterparts as a means of reinforcing class hierarchies. While Wiggam carefully delineates the classical features of the Greek/Nordic face, he shifts in his description to immigrants to portrayals of the body. Lines between human and animal

collapse as he describes their "bovine" faces and their bodies like "draft horse[s]" (273). He describes the women "unloaded" at Ellis Island--"broad-hipped, short, stout-legged with big feet; broad-backed . . . with faces expressionless and devoid of beauty" and complains that these "ugly and stupid" women are "giving us nearly three babies, where the beautiful women of the old American stocks . . . are giving us one" (274).²⁶ As Stallybrass and White note, the grotesque body's "lower regions (belly, legs, feet . . .) [are] given priority over its upper regions (head, 'spirit,' reason)" (9). Nordics parade as a series of faces or heads in their classical beauty, as if removed from the procreative nature of their own bodies.²⁷

²⁶ Wiggam is drawing on the work of Edward A. Ross who draws attention to the "grotesque" shape of the incoming immigrants. Ross finds "in every face there was something wrong" (286); they have "crooked faces, coarse mouths, bad noses, heavy jaws, and low foreheads," almost ape-like in appearance; in addition they have a "low stature," and "undersized and weak-muscled" bodies (287). He associates the new immigrants with excessive fecundity.

²⁷ Wiggam, among others, believed that the influx of new immigrants was resulting in a lower birth rate among Nordics. Popenoe and Johnson felt the "influx of immigrants . . . merely replaces children or grandchildren of the original settlers, who would otherwise have been born but whose birth is prevented by the complex processes that result in the lowering of a birth-rate under the impact of immigrant competition and pressure. From this point of view, the thirty million immigrants admitted to the United States since the Civil War have merely taken the places of 30 million unborn children of the older stock" (288). Alexander Graham Bell, Chair of the Second Eugenics Congress of 1921, argued that the fault actually lies with Nordic women who attend college and delay childbirth ("Is Race Suicide Possible?" Journal of Heredity 11.8 [Nov-Dec, 1920]: 339-341). Journalist Owen Wister argued that radicals, like cuckoo birds, lay their eggs in the nest of others, finally pushing the "true" babies out

Wiggam sought to negotiate this incongruity--misshapen bodies and fecundity, classical bodies and sterility--by joining with the hosts of eugenicists who launched the various baby and family beauty contests. Wiggam argued that Nordics must be educated by "beauty contests, by baby shows, by teaching art in our schools, by teaching children the certainty and beneficence of the laws of heredity" so that they might continue to "raise the level of intelligence and human excellence" (278). Perhaps not surprisingly, the medal of honor presented at such shows pictured a mother and father draped in Grecian style togas, presenting a torch to the sturdy male infant; overhead is written "Yea, I have a Goodly Heritage" (Wiggam, The Next Age of Man, frontpiece).

When Nordics do breed, however, they produce a class of individuals more productive than the other two races. Wiggam cites a study by Frederick Adams Woods presented before the Second Eugenics Congress in 1921 which tracked the descendants of the leading families of Boston since early colonial times (Fruit 200).²⁸ Wiggam concludes from the study that "the superior breed are to-day much more elevated from the masses

of their homes. If "native" Americans are not careful, "his eaglets some day may be pushed out of the nest" ("Shall We Let the Cuckoos Crowd Us Out of Our Nest?" American Magazine March 1921: 47. Also see Ross who feels that "native" Americans have been attacked by a "fatal sterility" (304).

²⁸ Frederick Adams Woods, "The Conifiration of Social Groups: Evidence from New England Families," Eugenics, Genetics and the Family: Scientific Papers of the Second International Congress of Eugenics, vol. 1 (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1923) 142-149.

than in the olden times" (201). Woods terms this process "conification," what Wiggam describes as the "building up of a nation into a great social and family cone with leadership at the top which gives certain families financial, artistic, industrial and political power" (201). Like Grant, Wiggam warns that such abilities are lost when men marry into the "sluggish stream of blood that flows through the uncounted millions" (202). Preserving class status is conflated biologically with race--the millions composed of Alpines and Mediterraneans. Noticeably, the studies of such families dwell on individual attainments; classical bodies are aligned with concepts of individuality. This focus contrasts with the delineation of the lower classes, "the uncounted millions" as one interconnected mass through which flows "sluggish blood." Their bodies are depicted here as one merged entity, with blood, the bodily fluid which often crosses boundaries, coursing through all.

Harvard psychologist William McDougall in his book Is America Safe for Democracy (1921) articulated this contrast between the individual and the masses in his comparison of Mediterraneans and Nordics. In the Mediterranean race, the "herd instinct" is greater--an "instinct common to . . . all the gregarious mammals" (82). The Nordic is not a man of the crowd:

They take part in social gatherings only with difficulty and hesitation; they are content to live alone in the seclusion of the family circle, emerging from it only in response to the call of duty or ambition or war. The

isolated home is their invention, their dearest invention. (81)

McDougall's rhetoric reinforced the sensibility of Mediterraneans as followers, as members of the earthly grotesque "hordes," an image antithetical to the individualist conquering Nordic male.

The Nordic and Immigrant Bodies of Popular Periodicals

The manufacture of the Nordic body as statuesque, untouchable, closed, removed from this immigrating underclass who according to eugenicists were promiscuous, governed by lower bodily urges beyond their control, found voice in popular periodicals which located Nordics as a population distinct from Mediterraneans and Alpines on intellectual, moral and emotional levels. While Nordics were smart, morally proper, and rational, new immigrants were stupid, lewd, and irrational. Bodies became metaphors for a host of social divisions which secured the rights of Nordics to the majority of immigration slots. In addition, the nation itself became figured as a body which would sicken and die if infested with such carriers of social disorders.

Vice-President Calvin Coolidge led the way in the article "Whose Country Is This?" of the February 1921 issue of Good Housekeeping Magazine. Alongside pictures of a group of immigrants crowding off of boats and a line of immigrant children sitting clothed in rags, he writes,

Biological laws tell us that certain divergent people will not mix or blend. The Nordics propagate themselves successfully. With other races, the outcome shows deterioration on both sides. Quality of mind and body suggests that observance of ethnic law is as great a necessity to a nation as immigration law. (14)

Protection and creating the boundaries of a nation coincides with sealing the boundaries of the body, as the body/community will be sickened by those unwell; he argues, "[I]n a healthy community there is no place for the vicious, the weak of body, the shiftless, or the improvident" (13). He denounces the "retroactive immigrant" who is "a danger in our midst," who is not here "to improve himself" but to "tear down"; he is like the "alien who turns toward America with the avowed intention of opposing government, with a set desire to teach destruction of government," an illusion to Bolsheviks who still haunted the American imagination. Coolidge associates these Bolsheviks with those newly arrived immigrants--"the advancing hordes"--who, unlike the Pilgrims, have failed to "contribute to the common good" (14). Nordics must remain clean and pure, separate from the infiltrating crowd if they are to create mirror images of themselves, an image stable across the decades; if they fail in their separateness, it will become a matter of "national suicide." The body and nation will-self-destruct simultaneously if boundaries are crossed.

Writers classified new immigrants as possessing gross bodily and mental aberrations which contrasted with the bodies of healthy Nordic citizens. In the December 1, 1923 issue of The Saturday Evening Post, the Secretary of Labor James Davis

cited the results of the Laughlin report presented before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1922 in which immigrants were associated with physical and mental deformity. He reports that of 445 state and federal custodial institutions in the country, new immigrants and their children comprised 44.09 percent of institutions which house "feeble-minded, the insane, the criminals, the epileptics, the inebriates, the chronically diseased, the blind, the deaf, the deformed, the crippled and dependent" (134). Laughlin presented the case to the House of Representatives as a problem of "blood," of "germ plasm," instead of looking to the more obvious answer; older more wealthy settlers kept their diseased and dependent in private home or small facilities not counted by the surveyors. Davis concludes from Laughlin's results that the nation must restrict "Mediterranean" and "Alpine" immigration in order to maintain a "race of real Americans, strong in body, sound in mind and healthy in soul" (134).²⁹ Ironically, this Secretary of Labor worked to control incoming "cheap labor" (which would actually benefit industry) thus creating through eugenic rhetoric a means for keeping out the underclass.

²⁹ Other anti-immigration writers shared these sentiments. In an editorial in Current Opinion, the author cites the Laughlin study and argues that "America has been, or at any rate can easily be, permanently injured by too liberal and long-continued and admixture of unskilled handworkers who belong to poor racial stocks and whose steady infiltration not only fills our asylums and jails, but tends to deteriorate our native stock" (June 1923: 652-654).

Davis also cited the results of the World War I intelligence texts. Analysts returned to the soldier himself as he was categorized and tested. In 1923, William McDougall and Carl Brigham published A Study of American Intelligence in which they correlated the amount of Nordic, Alpine or Mediterranean "blood" as estimated through their national origin or descent with tests results. For example, Norway had ninety percent Nordic blood while Italy, Russia and Portugal had five percent. Since the nations with the highest amount of Nordic blood scored had higher test results, they concluded that Nordics were the most intelligent, ranked two mental years above Mediterraneans and Alpines. And while the length of stay correlated with the rise in intelligence (one would also expect the ability to speak English and understand the test more completely would also), they ignored this, choosing instead to provide a "racial" analysis of immigrants and emigrants. Grant, Ripley, McDougall and Gould (American: A Family Matter 1922) were the eugenic authorities of their choice. A writer for The New Republic tried refute the tests, questioning the validity of the "Nordic vogue," yet perhaps not surprisingly given public attitudes, circled back in his discussion to confirm that the test results do have "some basis in scientific fact." The editorial concludes that

Nordics are "a good race to breed into the American mixture" ("The 'Nordics'--and the Rest" 279).³⁰

Establishing the statuesque Nordic as the definitive American (ordered, rational, capable of governing) perhaps found its most vocal advocate in the pages of The Saturday Evening Post where writers forwarded associations between body types and national identifications. Kenneth Roberts, hired by The Saturday Evening Post to travel to Europe to study the new immigrants, published six feature articles in the magazine between 1920 and 1924 advocating Grant's views. Following Grant's protocol, he describes the Nordics as "tall, calm, dependable and skilled in the art of government" whereas "other races are short, excitable, undependable and apparently incapable of governing themselves properly." They are "hopelessly inferior in physique, manner of thought and ability" ("Slow Poison" 8). In an article in which he extols the benefits of Norwegian immigrants, Nordics are "strong and capable looking . . . calm and patient under trying conditions," born of a group of people who "colonized, built up and wrote the laws of America" ("West" 13). In contrast, in "Guests from Italy," Roberts finds "short" and "stubby" Southern Italians who haven't "the slightest idea of democracy

³⁰ The Army tests were widely cited as proof of Nordic superiority in scientific as well as in the popular periodicals. See Paul Popenoe's "Intelligence and Race: A Review of Some of the Results of the Army Intelligence Tests," Journal of Heredity 13.6 (June 1922): 265-260 and "Measuring Human Intelligence," Journal of Heredity 12.5 (May 1921): -231-236.

as American understand it" and are easily swayed by "mob leaders whose sole business in life is to inflame the discontented masses against the government" ("Guests" 130). They are like other new immigrants "[m]orally unfit . . . and politically subversive--such as active Bolsheviks and anarchists" ("Guests" 130).

Immigrants, with their "stubby" bodies continue to be the site of government anarchy and fecundity. They "crowd the slums and rabbit warrens of her [U.S.] cities and overwhelm her old stock by sheer weight in numbers" ("Slow Poison" 8). These rodent-like creatures seem to come from some archaic time period; they "live in filthy, windowless chimneyless hovels and scratch their desolate fields with . . . rude implements" (8). They are America's filth, slums, and growing crime rate; their deformed bodies, nearly grotesque, become the signifier of all that disrupts the nation's seamless image of itself as whole, clean, untainted by industrialism and the growth of cities. With the emphasis on fecundity, one is reminded of Bakhtin's reflections on the grotesque, that grotesque bodies signify the processes of living and dying. Nordics, in classical form, could only be sterile, for to be fecund would be to admit to their own materiality and likewise, fallibility. To be fallible was to be penetrable, without firm boundaries, reminded of the permeability of boundaries in childbirth and in death.

Writers for Collier's similarly adopted such bodily/racial dichotomies. George Creel, in the wake of the dismantling of the CPI, argued that the new immigrants "coagulate in alien masses," failing to assimilate the traditions and ideals of "Nordic stock." He cited a study by the Immigration Commission of 1910 which shows that out of one million criminals studied in Chicago, New York, and Massachusetts, one-half were foreign born; in addition, one-half of the mentally insane in New York hospitals were foreign-born. To prevent the influx of immigrants from "eastern Europe" who are "[m]orally, physically and mentally the worst in the history of immigration" (10), he suggested that immigration law should not be based on nationality but race since races can migrate to different countries in Europe. He intones that the country return to "pure Nordic stock" as other "races" cannot be assimilated. Bodies become repository of beliefs and minds; the Nordics made up "The men and women who settled America--who made America" (18).

Bakhtin's "grotesque"--proliferating, breeding, caught in the processes of living and dying--finds voice among other journalists. Renowned White House journalist William Allen White argued in Collier's that "our dark-skinned neighbors breed faster than we" (3). Much like Grant, he believed that the nation faces a serious "biological" problem. Nordic purity can never be maintained as "the melting pot actually melts and fuses the [racial] strains" (4). The imagery speaks

of a certain loss of identity which occurs if bodily boundaries are lost in the fusion of "racial strains." Everyone melts together, leaving the Nordic not above and beyond but down low, on the same level as others.

White feared that Nordics will be overwhelmed by sheer numbers of criminals:

In the cities which slowly are growing larger, a new biological condition faces us. That condition has its political reflex. And the reflex is the moron majority which piles upon every great American city. It creates the spawning ground of the thug, of the assassin. (4)

He argued,

We are filling our cities with men and women who lack the mental grasp of the colonist who fought our Revolution, who established our land, who made our Constitution and so made America. The moron cannot take in all this tall talk about the constitution. . . the considerable masses of our population do not comprehend our institutions. (3)³¹

Reordering the nation--presumably consisting of upper class Nordics--requires ejecting the immigrant, signifier of all that is dirtied, disordered, slovenly. Their "stubby" bodies threaten to proliferate in the cities, finally replacing the classical Nordic who remains above the crowd, an icon of hereditary knowledge of his forefathers, the nation's

³¹ For other periodicals which favored restricted immigration, see Atlantic Monthly and Forum. For examples, see H.H. Powers, "'Grave Consequences,'" Atlantic Monthly July 1924: 124-133 and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Is America Too Hospitable?" Forum Oct. 1923: 1983-1989. The Literary Digest presented both sides of the argument, pro-racial (anti-immigrant) and pro-labor (pro-immigrant). See "Our New 'Nordic' Immigration Policy," Literary Digest 10 May 1924: 12+.

founders, capable of surviving across generations of American history. The eugenicists offered a formidable solution to rising crime rates, growing slums; you simply label and reject the misshapen, the deformed, ejecting what you see as the refuse of a Kristevan maternal European homeland which has abjected its own waste. The nation's boundaries must be carefully sealed, saving for posterity the "white man par excellence" as the sole representative of a nation.

Lost White Civilizations and the Nordic Male Body of Pulp Fiction

From the 1890s on, there emerged within American literature a lost race tradition which sought to map out the origins of human civilization in some imaginary form.³² In the teens and twenties, these lost race novels focused more completely on finding a lost white race, as if authors were imaginatively combatting the social and economic changes taking place--the arrival of new immigrants, the migration of large numbers of African-Americans from rural Southern districts to Northern cities--by creating a romance of timelessness, of long existent white superiority which can never be upset. In Fitzhugh Green's ZR Wine (1924), the white Lieutenant Bliss Eppley of the United States Navy travels to the North Pole to discover an ancient colony of Norsemen;

³² See James Nestebly 99-113 for a history of the lost race tradition in American and British literature.

George Allan England locates a similar group in Vikings of the Ice (1924). Edgar Rice Burroughs locates his lost white civilizations in Africa where the reader finds white apes or ancient white cities in such books as The Return of Tarzan (1913 serial/1915 book), Tarzan and the Jewels of Opar (1916 serial/1918 book), Tarzan the Terrible (1921 serial and book), Tarzan and the Golden Lion (1922-23 serial/1923 book), Tarzan and the Ant Men (1924 serial and book), Tarzan, Lord of the Jungle (1927-29 serial/1928 book), and Tarzan and the Lost Empire (1928-29 serial/1929 book). Burroughs also wrote books aside from the Tarzan series which played out the racial horror of what might happen if white supremacy were ever lost.

These latter books reflect the anxieties of eugenicists in very explicit form. In The Lost Continent (1916), Burroughs sends U.S. submarine commander Jefferson Turck off to an England only to discover it's being run by Blacks. The Great War has presumably destroyed all white civilizations; only Africa, South American and Asia remain. (The eugenic fear of the "rising tide of color" has taken hold.) Turck vanquishes Black and Asian hordes and finds a white woman named Victory from a barbaric ancient white race. She later becomes the queen of England. In The Land That Time Forgot (1918 serial/1924 book), Burroughs sends a U.S. submarine commander Bowen J. Tyler, Jr. to fight in France. His ship is torpedoed by a German U-boat which he finally captures, only to have his efforts sabotaged by a Wobbly, a member of the

International Workers of the World (a potent reminder of the new immigrant presence in American who presumably were subverting war efforts by striking). The submarine drifts to Caspak, an island occupied by a race of ancient whites where Tyler stays to rule.

The racial anxieties evident in Burroughs's work make themselves especially felt in the Tarzan series whose central character operates as a reincarnated Nordic complete with classical form.³³ Although Burroughs never uses the term "Nordic" like Hemingway, H.D. and Fitzgerald, his lead character, the son of the British aristocrat Lord Greystoke, functions as a eugenic caricature. His name means "white skin" according to Burroughs and his physical form embodies such Nordic attributes as barbarity and classicism:

His straight and perfect figure, muscled as the best of the ancient Roman gladiators must have been muscled, and yet with the soft and sinuous curves of a Greek god, told at a glance the wondrous combination of enormous strength with suppleness and speed.

³³ I will focus primarily here on the Tarzan series as it was the most popular of Burroughs's work. Frank Luther Mott points out that the series' signature book Tarzan of the Apes sold over 900,000 copies between 1910 and 1919, making it one the thirteen best sellers of the decade (Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States [New York: Macmillan, 1947] 313). James Nesteby argues that "the series based on Tarzan of the Apes--spawned of over two dozen sequels and hundreds of imitators--is the most popular series, in terms of sales, by an American author" (88). The 1918 film Tarzan of the Apes also garnered a large audience as one of the first blockbusters, one of six to earn more than a million dollars in box office receipts during the decade (Robert Fenton, The Big Swingers [Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967] 87).

With the noble poise of his handsome head upon those broad shoulders, and the fire of life and intelligence in those fine, clear eyes, he might readily have typified some demigod of a wild and warlike bygone people of his ancient forest. (Tarzan of the Apes 109)

Tarzan is instrumental in uncovering a host of lost white civilizations whose lessons on gender and race probably weren't lost on early twentieth-century readers. When in The Return of Tarzan, Tarzan finds an ancient civilization run by white women with dwarfed grotesque ape-like white male slaves, we discover this odd situation has resulted from interspecies (translated in modern terms to interracial) miscegenation. These men were the offspring of matings with apes. The women remain unaffected for no explicable reason. The males, despite their "white skins," have "receding foreheads, wicked little close-set eyes, yellow fangs" (165) and "short crooked legs" (194), reminiscent of the new immigrant "stubby" bodies. In their new grotesque state, these men lack intelligence and therefore are ruled by the evil La and other women who perform human sacrifices. Tarzan narrowly escapes such a sacrifice as does Jane; he rescues her, reasserting belief in the male-dominated white couple. Noticeably, through interspecies miscegenation, we have a loss of gender hierarchies, another warning to all those who dare cross the interracial line.

Burroughs frames this deterioration of an ancient white civilization with contemporary concerns about new immigration. As the text opens, Nikolas Rokoff, a Russian spy, tries to seduce a wealthy American heiress, to later force himself on

the American Jane after he momentarily disables Tarzan. With his "swarthy" and "bestial" face, he acts like a "prehistoric progenitor of the human race" (177, 181). He crosses the line between man and animal, representing some type of grotesque merged state. He poses a miscegenist threat to the helpless Jane.

In Tarzan and the Ant Men, we find a similar doubling of frames overlaid with new immigrant/gender concerns. A modernized Tarzan, who lives with his wife and son on an African plantation, flies his plane to the Great Thorn Forest only to crash. There he is carried away by a giant white woman of the Alalus tribe who throws him in her cave, planning to have sexual relations with him later. Apparently, the males of her species, much smaller, live in the forest, terrified of these women who use them for reproductive purposes. Tarzan, of course, escapes her lair and proceeds to teach the men how to make spears, bows and arrows and properly tame these wild women. The Newest New Woman and the suffragette metaphorically are taught their lesson and the "unnatural reversal of sex dominance" is corrected (27).

This tale of gender reversal is bracketed by another tale in which, while Tarzan is lost in the Great Thorn Forest, an impersonator of Tarzan, the Spaniard Esteban Miranda, moves into Tarzan's plantation home, living with Jane. Estaban has lost him memory momentarily and apparently looks just like Tarzan, so Jane welcomes him home. Tarzan returns just in

time to reassert his rightful place in his family and get rid of the evil Miranda. The two tales compliment each other in a way which suggests that gender reversal is somehow coincident with the "taking of our women," as Grant would have it. Reasserting white male control over white women coincides with protecting them from new immigrant men.

Tarzan then offers a tonic to soothe eugenic fears of racial pollution and gender inversion. He also provides fodder for the belief that advanced white civilizations existed, a counter argument, it would seem, to the stress in the twenties on identifying ancient African civilizations such as Egypt as Black. Burroughs's lost white civilizations include very developed, very advanced ones such as that of the Trohanadalmakusians, a race of tiny white men who build complicated honeycombed structures vaguely reminiscent of Egyptian tombs in Tarzan and the Ant Men. While Harlem Renaissance figures such as Winston Dubois and Marcus Garvey turned to Africa to find a heritage. In 1913, DuBois asserted, "[T]he Negro blood which flowed in the veins of many of the mightiest of the Pharaohs accounts for much in its origins to the development of the large strain of Negro blood which manifested itself in every grade of Egyptian society" (223).³⁴

³⁴ Franz Boas, in 1905, pressed Andrew Carnegie to contribute half a million dollars to support a new museum on the "Negro" which would prove Black cultural achievement in Africa (Degler 76).

Burroughs also provided for eugenicists a race of white apes who offer a solution to what had become an evolutionary stumbling block for scientists who had yet to locate a white primate ancestor, a necessity to remove any traces of Black ancestry. As ones considered lower on the Great Chain of Being, Blacks presumably were the ancestors of whites. In Tarzan the Terrible, the reader meets a Waz-don, "a white-skinned creature cast in a mold similar to [Tarzan's] own" (12). Tarzan discovers that "though the creature before him had the tail and thumbs and great toes of a monkey, it was, in all other respects, quite evidently a man" (12). This ape-like creature has well developed cities and a language. He is Tarzan's precursor, a man himself who metaphorically traverses an evolutionary plane. Called repeatedly "the ape man," "Tarzan of the Apes" lives in contemporary society. Tarzan scholar James Nesteby rightly calls him the "mythological white ape" (139), an ape who somehow escapes having a grotesque form.

Eugenic Dreams

Eugenics then, in all its glory in the teens and twenties, had a large cultural impact, circulating through not only scientific and academic circles, but also heavily in popular magazines and even pulp fiction. The desire to locate a towering white male who could rescue the country from a new immigrant presence permeated the popular consciousness. The

desire to fix an identity through an image of the body gained popularity as new immigrants threatened the status quo, often rising up through industry or taking part in a labor movement which challenged the power and stability of industrial hierarchies. It offered a salve to anxieties about the loss of white male physical boundaries during the war.

Like Burroughs, the fiction writers of these two decades were not immune to such discourses, as I shall show. While writers such as Ernest Hemingway, H.D., and F. Scott Fitzgerald ridiculed the eugenic mania, they also helped reinforce eugenic values, expressing their own need to anchor an identity on a fixed body, whether that be Hemingway's classical brown body, H.D.'s lesbian body, or Fitzgerald's white body of a whitened American landscape.

CHAPTER 3
HEMINGWAY'S RESPONSE TO EUGENICS: DAMAGED MEN, PHILANDERING
WOMEN

Nordic Men, "Newest New Women"

In between writing drafts of The Sun Also Rises (1926), Ernest Hemingway composed a short satire titled The Torrents of Spring: A Novel in Honor of the Passing of a Great Race (1925) whose subtitle points to its target, namely Madison Grant's The Passing of the Great Race (1916). Hemingway's interest in eugenics coincided with his fascination with the war-torn male body, whether it be the Nordic Yogi Johnson's of TOS or Jake Barnes's of SAR.¹ While he ridiculed the eugenicists for their creation of the fighting Nordic male, he was also fascinated by its representation. In TOS, he critiques the eugenic effort to create a bounded Nordic body. He also disparages the modernist fascination with remaking war-torn subjectivities through a sexual or emotional coupling with the "primitive," a concept explored in Hemingway's second targeted text of TOS, Sherwood Anderson's Dark Laughter (1925). Despite his criticism of eugenic and modernist efforts to salvage the war

¹ This figure shows up in other Hemingway texts, particularly as Nick Adams of In Our Time (1924).

ravaged white male, he follows their lead, longing to recuperate a masculine body perfect in form, elevated above the masses. We find this figure in SAR in the bullfighter Pedro Romero, a man who renegotiates, through his art, the ritual of war.

Such anxieties about war-torn male physical bodies coincided with fears about the "Newest New Woman," as The Ladies' Home Journal called her (Abbott 154)--the sexual renegade, who along with her voting rights, asserted a new sexuality not controlled by men. As Wendy Martin notes, "With the loss of the conviction of masculine invincibility and authority after the war" came a concomitant

transformation in the popular consciousness [of the white female role] from passive, private creature to avid individualist in pursuit of new experiences. The housebound Victorian nurturer was becoming the modern woman of unprecedented mobility and public visibility. (67)

A later version of her turn-of-the-century ancestor (the New Woman) who first attended college and put off marrying a few years, this Newest New Woman abandoned restraint in her celebration of her body, sporting bobbed hair, short skirts and sheer fabrics, with an autonomy and movement seldom witnessed before in a history of ankle-length skirts and corsetted waists (Martin 68-69). With access to birth control, this figure terrified eugenicists who feared she would abandon her procreative responsibilities and cavort freely with members of other "races." The American Eugenics Society recorded proudly that in the twenties, courses in

eugenics were offered at three hundred and fifty colleges and universities. Such courses aimed to inculcate this New Woman into the importance of tracing hereditary lines in the choice of mate, one step in a program of positive eugenics aimed at the perpetuation of the Nordics (Kevles 89).

Hemingway was intrigued with the Newest New Woman. He lived in an area where women's rights had gained strong visibility--more than eighty feminist societies with a total membership of 60,000 members existed in his Parisian home port of the 1920s (Wiser 85). Hemingway's literary males are affected by her drama, paralyzed in part by her willingness to set the rules. His men are crippled by sexually active women--the Nordic Yogi of TOS becomes impotent during the war because of Parisian whoring (a take-off on Anderson's sexually horrified, then impotent white hero) while the emasculated Jake in SAR squirms as he watches the engagements of the sexual active Brett Ashley. Standing alongside the shattered white male body, pressed beyond its limits in war, the sexually active white female seemed to intensify his demise.

Hemingway's interest in the Newest New Woman cannot be separated from eugenic anxieties about interracial, interethnic miscegenation, namely the fear that by sleeping with ethnic or racial others, she would degrade herself. His own Newest New Woman Brett Ashley takes sexual company with a new immigrant descendant, the Jewish Robert Cohn, and entertains a Greek-coded Count in SAR. Anxieties or fears

about the Newest New Woman were tied explicitly to concerns about national contamination from outsiders who could not only pollute the Nordic woman racially but distract her from her reproductive responsibilities and, in the process, lower her class status. In the August 1920 issue of The Ladies' Home Journal, Harriet Abbott connects the presence of the Newest New Woman to the Red Scare, a phenomenon deeply tied to the new immigrant presence in Northeastern cities, particularly in striking industries such as steel mills and coal mines. Abbott scolds, "[E]very [Nordic] girl who shirks marriage because its homely duties are irksome, every woman who refuses to have children . . . is using her saw-toothed ax on progress." Making reference to Havelock Ellis who advocated birth control primarily to eliminate the "unfit" and preserve the "race," Abbott argues that Nordic women must "elect" motherhood before they are distracted by the "Red element, the Bolshevik part, . . . in the woman movement [which] is sparring to-day for the destruction of womanhood as the Soviet element in industry is shaking the pillars of organized economics" (154).² In the December 1921 issue of The Ladies'

² Abbott's fears here also found voice in Calvin Coolidge's message in his article "Enemies of the Republic: Are the 'Reds' Stalking Our College Women?" (The Delineator [June 1921] 4+). Coolidge, then Vice-President of the country, argued that socialists were infiltrating the elite all-woman college campuses of the Northeast, espousing a rhetoric which would ultimately "break down . . . the sturdy virtues the womanhood, the insidious destruction of character, the weakening of the moral fiber of the individual, the destruction of the foundations of civilization" (67). The article pictures a wolf in sheep's clothing gleefully

Home Journal, John McMahon takes Abbott's concerns a step farther, suggesting that flappers, the New Woman at her most daring, were becoming like the Eastern European working class. He writes, "Rub the bloom off American womanhood and what is left? The status of the Eastern European female of the species, a bare-footed working animal, something lower than a man" (34).

In 1925, the year Hemingway wrote SAR, the same discourses continued to circulate. Corra Harris's Flapper Anne was serialized by The Ladies' Home Journal before being published as a book. Anne, ostensibly a white upper class Southerner, gains her passion for dancing and "occidental features and coloring" from the "blood" of her mother, "a common Gypsy girl who had danced her way up through the East Side cabarets to Broadway"; some remember the mother as "a Russian woman, the fantastic herald of all the dancers who had come after her from the same dark rim of the world" (63). Flapping, then, seems an imported Eastern European practice which has crept literally into the blood stream of innocent white girls. Anne's habits are finally tamed by the advent of eugenics; she realizes she must settle down and marry carefully. She tells her grandmother, "Reproducing under certain conditions is the worst kind of race suicide. It is

instructing a group of female sheep in flounced dresses and hair ribbons. The wolf's posture, standing above the sheep, and the sheep's clothing, extra-feminine, adds a sense of sexual aggression to the scene.

race degeneration. . . . The unthinking good woman is largely responsible for the alarming increase in defectives, neurasthenics, all those feeble types, by her senseless submission to the ruthlessness and wastefulness of nature" (96-97). Here, the Newest Woman must be careful about marriage or sexual partners for if she mates with someone who might be flawed (commonly viewed in a press as new immigrant, assigned such characteristics as "feeble-minded" or "neurasthenic"), she will contribute to the "ruthlessness and wastefulness of nature." It was eugenically important that the flapper's habits (in particular sexual habits) finally be controlled.

In accordance with these eugenic fears, Hemingway offers a response tinged with anxiety about the shifting positions of his sexually adventurous women. In TOS, while he mimics and ridicules the eugenic fear of miscegenation, he plays less critically with fears about the Newest New Woman and the power of white women who were entering new sexual spheres. Like the text he satirizes--Anderson's Dark Laughter--his men become destabilized through the sexual antics of promiscuous (white) women. Even though he parodies fears about miscegenation and the desire for a concrete Nordic hero, the sexually and physically crippled Nordic Yogi Johnson in TOS, becomes, in SAR, Jake Barnes while the whoring Parisian is transformed into the Newest New Woman Brett, a sexually active woman who goes beyond the bounds of her own racial group. With the

Newest New Woman escaping the confines of the old gendered and racial scripts, Hemingway addresses eugenic concerns about her as pollutant. He conceives of a system of the reproduction of subject--that of aficion--which rewrites the terms of reproduction beyond the limits of the female body with all its potentially damaging and uncontrollable qualities. The new subject--masculine, sealed and fully formed without a mother--replaces the toppled Nordic. With his classic lines and inherited gifts, Pedro Romero becomes a metaphoric eugenic conqueror.

Critiquing Eugenic Fears, Modernist Dreams

The Torrents of Spring, while a eugenic satire, is also inseparable from its modernist target, Sherwood Anderson's Dark Laughter. As Hemingway notes in a letter to Anderson, "All I think about Dark Laughter is in this Torrents book. . . . It's a joke and it isn't meant to be mean, but it is absolutely sincere" (205). At the same time, it's about the "great race"; Hemingway writes in the same letter, "[T]he great race I had in mind in the subtitle was the white race" (205). As Taylor Alderman points out, the only difference between TOS's subtitle--A Romantic Novel in Honor of the Passing of a Great Race and Grant's The Passing of the Great Race is the article, moving from the definite "the" (proclaiming Grant's belief in Nordics as the only "great race") to the indefinite "a," Hemingway's humorous reply that

the Nordic race is one of many great ones (216). Hemingway's parody must be read in light of both Anderson's and Grant's texts. It appears to be a revision of Anderson's novel with a eugenic twist.³

In Anderson's Dark Laughter, uninhibited laughing Blacks highlight the sexual alienation of a modernized sterile upper class white couple Fred and Arline Gray. Arline can only find solace from her sexless life by having an affair with her lower class white gardener, Bruce. She becomes emotionally and sexually rejuvenated against a chorus of "dark laughter." Her house reverberates with a Black presence: "The two negro women in the house watched and waited [for the affair]. . . . The air on the hilltop was filled with laughter--dark laughter" (250). They provide Arline with a model to follow: "They would think as their natures led them to think, feel as their natures led them to feel. . . . White eyes, white teeth in a brown face--laughter" (260).

³ Aside from Alderman's short article, critics have not addressed Torrents' relationship to eugenics or its position as a critique of Grant's text. They have focused more on the text as a revision of Anderson's Dark Laughter or works of Ivan Turgenev (the phrase "torrents of spring" comes from Turgenev's 1872 novella of that name), or as a collection of literary anecdotes of friends. See, for example, Richard Chapple's "Ivan Turgenev, Choroid Anderson, and Ernest Hemingway: The Torrents of Spring All" in New Comparisons: A Journal of Comparative and General Literary Studies (Summer 1988) 5: 136-149; Daniel Barnes' "Traditional Narrative Sources for Hemingway's The Torrents of Spring in Studies in Short Fiction (1982) 19.2: 141-150; Robert Coltrane's "Hemingway and Turgenev: The Torrents of Spring," Hemingway's Neglected Short Fiction: New Perspectives, ed. Susan Beegel (Ann Harbour: Univ. Microfilms, 1989) 149-161.

Her sexual exploration occurs in conjunction with a break-down in the marriage. Her husband Fred is sexually reticent, a result not only of his disgust over war but also of his disgust over white female sexual emancipation, two events conjoined in his mind. During a party in Paris, Fred listens to an American woman Rosalind recall an orgy she attended. A type of Newest New Woman herself (a newspaper woman, single, who throws her own parties, smokes and dances), she enjoys being sexually active:

The pantomimes began at twelve, Rose said--twenty-nine ways of love-making--all done in life--naked people. There was a moment. At twelve any woman who wanted to save herself could get out. After that all barriers down. "I stuck." (183)

Rosalind feels her sexuality, once contained, can now be released:

"I've been around a little. A newspaper woman sees things. Suppose something, your thoughts--we all have--that we are ashamed of--all the thoughts and strange and terrible dreams you have when you're a young girl--say fifteen at night--when the bed is hot--you can't sleep--you can't come awake--all that stripped bare."
(184)

Following this narration, Fred tells Arline, "I've seen too many things like that Rose blowout. I've been up front" (198). He associates sex for woman (reflective of the loss of a traditional female identity) with the death of men (suggestive of a lost traditional masculine identity of omnipotence), as if sexual acts (crossing of bodily boundaries for women) could be equated with the destruction of the body for men. In war, he feels confused, lying shoulder to

shoulder with a dead man who he thinks is living. Feeling "hysterical," he kills another man walking by who may have been an American. With the breaking of the body's margins, he flounders, regaining a sense of manliness only by inscribing Arline with a fixed static state. He feels "strong and manly" (196) himself only if he can arrest her imaginatively, inserting her into traditional Victorian narratives of gender in which the female is stripped of sexual desire.

He realizes that what he "wanted from a woman was not a conscious participation in the facts of life" (197). He contrasts Rose's "vulgarity" with Arline's imagined chastity, exploring in fantasy how she might look in his landscape at home--"how exquisite she would be--like one of the small, -old-fashioned white marble statues people used to set on pedestals among green foliage in a garden," his idea of an American "lady" (197). By awarding her a classical body, he can regain a sense of himself as classical also, "manly." Yet Arline resists, anxious to break the bonds of gender and class.

Hemingway's text revises Anderson's, placing Anderson's concerns over lost male potency and the loss of male physical boundaries within a eugenic frame. Fred Gray is replaced by the Nordic Yogi Johnson, a man who has lost his desire and his bodily form. He has a crippled arm as a result of the war and his physical loss, making clear the grotesque state of the body coincides with a subjective deterioration. He can no

longer think of himself as phallic Nordic with a strong powerful body.

The destruction of Yogi's identity and desire occurs, much like Fred's, from being party to the sexual activities of Parisian women during the war. In Paris, a woman blindfolds him and takes him to a large beautiful room where the two perform various sexual acts. He searches for her again and again until, finally, while attending a peep show, he realizes that he is looking in at the same woman with a different man in the same decorated room. The woman here becomes the assertive sexual actor while the man is dragged about, hostage to her (and finally his) desire.

Yogi's loss of desire mirrors Fred's whose loss of sexual desire becomes a metonymic signifier for the emptiness of his social and economic power since the war. His status as a town war hero is minimized when, during his patriotic march in a parade, his wife is having relations with his gardener (in Fred's bed) at home. And even though Fred returns home from the war to run his dead father's factory and live in the house overlooking the town, his class status is a vacant container; his good name and financial strength hold no allure for the sexual Arline.

Hemingway transforms Fred's class issue into one of class and race, a common combination for eugenicists who viewed all Nordic men as members of the upper class. The Nordic Yogi returns home to Michigan to discover that his status as a war

hero and position on the racial/social hierarchy is severely eroded in light of Native American advances. He delivers an extended monologue to two "woods Indians" or "simple aborigines" on his war exploits during which one falls asleep and the other responds afterwards, "Was white chief in the war?" The same Indian then offers a listing of his own medals and his title as a major; his friend, "the little Indian," is also highly decorated. Yogi feels strangely humiliated and wonders, "Who are these Indians? What did they mean to him?" (64). What eugenicist Lothrop Stoddard called a "blond, fighting barbarian" now seems a ridiculed man, reduced in stature in the face of Native American phallic (fighting) potency. When the two Indians ask him to lead the way to the local beanery, Yogi wonders, why lead when "One man's as good as another now?" (74).

In the next chapter, "The Passing of the Great Race and Making and Marring of Americans," Hemingway makes clear that Yogi's loss is a symptom of a world-wide racial problem in which people of color are taking over the Nordic's right to rule. Yogi imitates not Grant here, but his compatriot Stoddard, who, as a disciple of Grant, wrote about the downfall of the "race" in The Rising Tide of Color (1921), a text which reiterates much of The Passing of the Great Race. Yogi reasons,

He was a white man, but he knew when he had enough. After all, the white race might not always be supreme. This Moslem revolt. Unrest in the East. Trouble in the West. Things looked black in the South. Now this

conditions of things in the North. Where was it taking him? Where would it all lead? (emphasis mine; 74)

And in The Rising Tide of Color, Stoddard had predicted that in the "East" (which Stoddard defines loosely as the Middle East, Near East, India and parts of Africa), "Moslems" were planning to overthrow their white colonial rulers; they had seen Nordic vulnerability through the casualties wrought during the World War. Stoddard writes,

[I]t is precisely the determination to get rid of white rule which seems to be spreading like wild-fire over the brown world to-day. The unrest which I have described in Egypt and India merely typify what is going on in Morocco, Central Asia, the Dutch Indies, the Philippines, and every other portion of the brown world whose inhabitants are above the grade of savages.

(emphasis mine; 83)

Stoddard likewise generalizes about the other cardinal directions. In the "white West" (Europe and America), Asiatics are making inroads, stealing industrial secrets for export to their nations so that the "yellows" will finally be a world power (237). In the "South" (South America), blacks had mongrelized a proud native Indian race, leading to eugenic chaos and political mayhem where a mongrel population of Spaniards, Indians and blacks form a chaotic mixture (we are also reminded here of the American South; when Yogi says, "Things look black in the South," the reader can't help but see the double entendre). In the "North," namely North America, immigrants from Southeastern Europe were swamping the area; according to Stoddard, these "prolific and adaptable but racially undesirable aliens", in their subsequent

prodigious multiplication . . . [will dominate] either replacing better native stocks or degrading these by the injection of inferior blood" (252).

Yogi's sense of the loss of world racial superiority is also clearly localized at home. Not only is he unhinged by the Native American participation in the war (the Society of American Indians recorded that 17,000 enlisted), he feels disturbed by social changes which minimize his social standing. Fred's empty class status here becomes coincident with race status. Hemingway humorously creates a Native American bar scene which, except for the location, mimics the prestigious bars of white clubs. The two Indians invite Yogi to their private club situated in the loft of a barn, complete with a bar with brass railings and a black bartender who answers, "Yes, suh," a wall covered with the photos of prestigious Native Americans, a committee room, a swimming pool, and a locker room. At the club, he is at first welcomed. But when one member asks, "What's your tribe?" and Yogi doesn't have one, he is promptly thrown down the trap door shoot, leaving the Nordic man confused about his position in post-war society.

Yogi's multiple losses makes literal Kaja Silverman's concept that the breaking of bodily boundaries brings a loss of belief in the "phallus," in infallible male authority. Yogi's losses--reproductive, social, and corporeal--are Hemingway's farce. The white male who returned to the States

damaged or wounded in mind and body no longer occupied a place of unquestionable supremacy socially or politically. Indeed, new immigrant and Indian participation in the war did have ramifications at home where Jews were trying to get into college, new immigrants were striking with their native counterparts in industries (in fact many made it out of the ghettos particularly in the garment industries), and Native Americans were becoming citizens (as of 1924). Yogi's downfall is completed as the chapter ends with his sexual involvement with a Native American, a move that doubles as a parody of the modernist solution to post-war alienation, mating with the "primitive," while critiquing the limited awareness of eugenicists of a viable Native American population.⁴

⁴ Hemingway was particularly aware of Native Americans as a real presence in the country as his Nick Adams's stories attest. Like in TOS, Hemingway frequently uses a Native American presence in his short stories to critique white masculinity. For example, in "Indian Camp," Nick's father, a white male doctor, performs a Cæsarian without anesthetic on a Native American woman; her husband commits suicide in the upper bunk, presumably because of listening to her pain. Nick's father comes off badly, as someone indifferent to human pain and suffering. In "The Doctor and the Doctor's Wife," the same man is again portrayed in a negative light while the Native Americans seems forthright and strong. Dick Bolton, a Native American who works for the father, points out that the logs the doctor wants sawed apart, actually belong to someone else. The doctor is annoyed that his worker has called attention to his lack of strict moral code and lets him go, a commentary on inappropriate and blinding codes of white masculinity which helped create a sense of ownership when there should be none. The doctor's mistaken sense of superiority over those around him seems not unlike Yogi's in TOS.

In Anderson's text, rejuvenation occurs via cross-racial identification, a common enough theme among the moderns. While Fred never recovers his sexual prowess or desire, Aline follows this path, becoming like Rose, when she sleeps with Bruce, the gardener. Aline's desire, as mentioned earlier, emerges within the framework of "dark laughter," a "dark laughter" associated not only with Negro women but also Rose. When she tells her orgy story, "Rose Frank laughed, a queer high nervous laugh--dark laughter that" (176). Rose also becomes "black" through her sexual activities and dancing. As she remembers the orgy, she comments,

"Such a strange feeling in me--something primitive like a nigger woman in an African dance. That was what they [the men] were after when they got up the show. You strip all away, no pretense. If I'd been a nigger woman--good night--something exotic." (184)

Aline, in a sense, has blackened up by classing down; she is reminiscent of her "Newest New Woman" sisters of The Ladies' Home Journal who were compared not only to Eastern Europeans, but in other accounts to Blacks. Historian Paula Fass notes that to "traditionalists," the modern woman's dancing represented "rude passion, Negro lewdness, sensuous movement" (22). Isadora Duncan in My Life compares the "tottering-ape-like convulsions of [the flapper's dance] the Charleston" to the "the sensual convulsions of the Negro" (341-342). The heightened sexual activity of the Newest New Woman (Aline seems to be one with her desire to be free of marriage and live beyond the rules of monogamy) is linked to lewdness, a

point of horror for the crippled male. The staid and true Fred is left behind, sterile without children of his own while Aline dons the "primitive" dance of sexuality, having sex with her gardener under Black watchful eyes and laughter.

Hemingway makes light of such a modernist re-claiming of identity in his depiction of Yogi's recovery. In TOS, Yogi manages to reawaken his sexuality by sleeping with a Native American woman. In the beanery, eating, he feels on the "verge of suicide. Self-destruction. Killing himself" because he no longer "want[s] a woman" (78). When a Native American woman walks into the beanery naked, in just her moccasins, "something [breaks] inside him. Something . . . snapped. . . . He had a new feeling. A feeling he thought had been lost for ever. Lost for always. Lost. Gone permanently. . . . [But] [h]e was alright now" (sic) (78). He follows her out the door, stripping, "naked in the moonlight, walking North beside the squaw" (84). The narrative itself functions as parody in its sheer exaggeration--the "squaw" apparently prefers walking naked despite the sub-zero weather, an over-the-top representation of the hardy, sexual primitive. Yogi follows her blindly, stripping his clothes which are then picked up by her following husband and friend, the two Indians. They plan to sell them in town for cash, an amusing twist on the concept of the "primitive" who rather unromantically participates in a capitalist economy, gaining a profit from Yogi's modernist reclamation of the "squaw."

Yogi's recovery also ridicules the eugenic fear of "race suicide," a presumed by-product of the war. Grant and Stoddard, among others, believed that since many Nordics were killed and upper class Nordics were not reproducing fast enough, "race suicide" was becoming a national epidemic. Yogi's solution to his loss of reproductive ability, however, is another form of what Grant calls "suicide pure and simple," to "share blood" with "brown, yellow, black or red men" (Introduction to Stoddard's Rising Tide, xiii) by mating with the "squaw." Grant's greatest fears are realized as the chapter about "The Passing of a Great Race" closes; Yogi presumably has sex with the woman and is finally officially married. He commits miscegenation, rendering the physical distance between races unclear. His maimed body, already a signifier of the permeability of the skin, now gathers filth in a new way. The "squaw" is a figurative trope of American fiction whose "filth" and heightened sexuality date back at least to the 1700s when William Byrd III depicted her as sexually filthy, eager to grant white explorers sexual favors. In the sexual act, borders also break down, as bodies physically merge with one another.

Hemingway's text, then, parodies both the modernists' solution to the alienating effects of war, namely to mate with a "primitive" on a mythological level as a means of appropriating an identity and the eugenic effort to create a physically bound idealized clean Nordic male. Even though

such narratives offer a means for recreating an "American" identity following the physical, psychological, and sexually debilitating effects of the war, both are ridiculed. The eugenic fear of merging finds no resolution. The romanticized "primitive" finds his ground and the shifting social position of "Nordics" is clear.⁵

Re-memembering the damaged white male body, however, remained a concern for Hemingway in his 1920's fiction. The physically crippled sexually impotent Yogi Johnson of TOS becomes the war-wounded, emasculated, non-reproductive Jake Barnes of SAR. Hemingway figures Jake as a Nordic by default in his discarded introduction⁶; Jake stands in contrast to the Jewish Robert Cohn who Hemingway describes as "one of the-non-Nordic" characters of the text (11). The threat to male sexual prowess, the sexually active white woman (like Rosalind and Aline of Dark Laughter and the Parisian prostitute of

⁵ Eugenecists seemed particularly unaware of Native Americans as a living presence in the country. The Indian Citizenship Act passed one week after the Immigration Act of 1924 without a murmur from them. Robert Berkhofer, Jr. points out that "the influx of millions of Southern and Eastern Europeans appeared more dangerous in their [congressmen's] eyes than a few hundred thousand pacified Indians" (The White Man's Indian [New York, 1978]:177).

⁶ See F. Scott Fitzgerald's letter to Hemingway on this point. Fitzgerald writes, "I think that there are about 24 sneers, superiorities, and nose-thumbings-at-nothing that mar the whole narrative up to p. 29 where (after a false start on the introduction of Cohn) it really gets going" (142). He goes onto comment on pages 1 and 2, "It hasn't even your rythm [sic] and the fact that [it] may be 'true' is utterly immaterial" (143). Hemingway took Fitzgerald's advice after the book reached the galley-proof stage.

Yogi's war years) emerges again as a source of anxiety, the easily definable Newest New Woman Brett Ashley. She must be eliminated as a viable source for the reproduction of bodies, the potential pollutant cast out in favor of a new means for formulating an identity which resurrects belief once again in the classical bounded male body, memorialized through time. This body, Pedro Romero's, is a brown body, however, a point which even as it destabilizes the eugenic adoration of white males, suggests Hemingway's investment in masculinity as a narrative which can transcend issues of race. Masculinity remains a potent source of fantasy necessary for the continuation of subject coherence, critical for defining axes of nation and class even in the face of racial cross-identification, itself a soft echo of the modernist desire to find in racial others some means for figuring an imaginative completion.

Polluting Women, Idyllic Nordic Men

The loss of stable racial hierarchies which Yogi mourns in TOS finds itself evidenced not through parody, but seriously in SAR through Jake Barnes's portrayal of Robert Cohn, a Jew who has entered the upper echelons of his society. While not a recent immigrant, Cohn, in his Jewishness, represents the immigrant threat to wrest power and social prestige from the native Nordic. And while Cohn comes from one of the "richest" and "oldest" families in New York, he is

still "Jewish," an ethnic group which garnered terrific scorn as new immigrants, many Jews from Eastern Europe, settled in New York. Cohn's insertion into the narrative's opening, after, in the first version, an extended section on the "Nordic" Brett Ashley, speaks to larger concerns about the threat these newcomers posed to what Madison Grant called "our women," many of whom were becoming the Newest New Women in light of shifting sexual mores.

Like the eugenicists who sought to anchor difference on the parameters of the body, Jake's fascination with Cohn centers around establishing his Jewishness on a physical level by focusing on his nose, a body part whose size and shape historically has been used to stereotype the group. It's as if he wanted to establish Cohn's grotesque difference from his own. As Bakhtin notes, the nose is one of the organs "which delineate the body's continual involvement in imbibing and releasing, growing and decaying" (318-319), a fact of bodily existence which Jake, a wounded grotesque character himself, works hard at ignoring. Cohn gets "his nose permanently flattened" in a boxing match, a point upon which Jake dwells:

I always had a suspicion that perhaps Robert Cohn had never been middleweight boxing champion, and that perhaps a horse had stepped on his face or that maybe his mother had been frightened or seen something, or that he had, maybe, bumped into something as a young child, but I finally had somebody verify the story. (4)

Cohn's erased physical difference sets the mood of the text. He no longer has what marks Jews as different from the closed contained classical body of Nordic mythology. With his new

body, he crosses ethnic boundaries, making love to the Nordic Newest New Woman of the text, Brett Ashley.

The eugenic anxiety Cohn might have evoked for Hemingway or early twentieth-century readers can be better understood if we place Cohn in his literary context where the slippery nature of the body as a signifier of race becomes clear. James Hinckle believes that Hemingway modelled Cohn not only on Harold Loeb, a Jewish author who accompanied Hemingway to a Spanish fiesta previous to Hemingway's drafting of SAR, but also on Ernest Boyd's "Aesthete," a caricature, Hinckle argues, of Loeb. Boyd's Aesthete appears in the January 1924 issue of The American Mercury and is a satirical portrait of the American literary expatriate not fully Nordic but partly Central and Eastern European. Boyd writes of his Aesthete as a man entering Eastern Ivy League colleges as a means of escaping racial inscription:

If some brachycephalic shadow lay across the Nordic blondness of his social pretensions, then, of course, the pilgrimage [to Harvard, Princeton or Yale] assumed something of the character of a great adventure into the Promised Land, the penetration to an Anglo-Saxon Lhasa.
(52)

The marked man--brachycephalic (round-skulled) like the Central and Southern Europeans of Grant's imagination--attempts to become long-skulled (dolichocephalic) through imitation.⁷ Boyd continues,

⁷ See Grant 16-18 for a discussion of the anthropometric measurements popular among eugenicists for determining European racial identity.

His [the aesthete's] immediate concern, in any case, was to resemble as closely as possible every man about him, to acquire at once the marks of what is known as the education of a gentleman, to wit, complete and absolute conformity to conventions, the suppression of even the faintest stirrings of eccentric personality. (52-53)

Cohn certainly strives to be a part of a Nordic group in Spain, to erase his difference as written onto his body by eugenicists and his compatriots. Brett, Mike Campbell, Bill Gorton and Jake are all Nordics if we accept Hemingway's delineation of Cohn as "one of the non-Nordics" of the text in his previous introduction (11). Cohn tries to adopt the mores and manners of his "friends," yet in the end fails to hide what the group marks as "Jewish" stirrings of personality.

Cohn's desire to make his way into hallowed Nordic sanctums of football and novel writing mimics that of the Aesthete's. Cohn eulogizes his time as a prep school football player, like the Aesthete who reminiscences over his college football games. He writes a bad novel like the Aesthete. While Jake describes Cohn's work as "not really such a bad novel as the critics called it, although it was a very poor novel" (5-6) with "a great deal of fantasy in it" ("Unpublished Opening to SAR" 12), the Aesthete writes a "war novel." Boyd describes his "ingenious style, florid, pedantic . . . an adjustable and protean vocabulary," developed through the "process of reshuffling phrases" (54). The sense of imitation here is pretty clear; clearly Cohn, like the Aesthete, can only poorly imitate other more capable authors as he tries to move into exclusive literary circles. In

addition to writing, Cohn has made it to the editor's corner through his wealthy parents, a point the text degrades, much like Boyd disparages the Aesthete's rightful "authority" as an editor. As Hinckle points out, Hemingway uses the term "authority" to describe Cohn as Boyd does to depict the Aesthete; Boyd's man "gazes upon his own reflection in the eyes of his friends, and fingers aggressively the luxurious pages of the magazine of which he is Editor-in-Chief, Editor, Managing Editor, Associate Editor, contributing editor, Bibliographical Editor, or Source Material Editor of one of the little reviews. . . . The essential fact is that he has an accredited mouthpiece, a letter-head conferring authority" (emphasis mine; 25). Cohn backs a "review of the Arts," becoming the "sole editor" after his name "appeared on the editorial page merely as member of the advisory board" (5); for his monetary support, he was "regarded purely as an angel It was his money and he discovered he liked the authority of editing" (5).

Hemingway revises Boyd's terminology, however, when he invokes "the promised land." The "promised land" of Boyd's Aesthete--"the great adventure into the Promised Land, the penetration to an Anglo-Saxon Lhasa" is rewritten onto the body of a British Nordic. When Cohn first gazes at Brett's figure, Jake comments, "[H]e looked a great deal as his compatriot must have looked when he saw the promised land . .

. a look of eager, deserving expectation" (22).⁸ Hemingway's use of the body of a woman as an arrival point for immigrants, as that which holds all promise of future success and potential assimilation, highlights an underlying anxiety of the text, namely Brett's relationship as a Nordic sexually interacting with the Jewish Cohn.

The group's distaste for Cohn and his sexual relationship with Brett finds expression through a discussion of his Jewishness, as if being a Jew meant possessing certain unchangeable traits which in the unpublished opening are described as "un-Nordic" (13). In lieu of physical difference, they rely on the age old effort of eugenicists to establish psychic difference. In the published version, Jake describes his "stubborn Jewish streak" (10), a prelude to the Jew bashing to come. Brett tries to drive off Cohn, telling him to "take that sad Jewish face away" (177) while Bill whines about his "Jewish superiority" (162). Bill wonders when he learns about Brett's affair with Cohn, "Why didn't she

⁸ In posing Cohn as an immigrant, Hemingway reveals a conception of Jews which would remain with him in his later years. In A Moveable Feast (1964), his recollections of the twenties in Paris when he wrote SAR, he remembers the American Gertrude Stein for her "German-Jewish face," her "thick alive immigrant hair," and her "strange, steerage clothes" (14, 16).

One is reminded here of Annette Kolodny's work on early American writers who figured the land as female, offering an invitation to settlers to penetrate and dominate. The context of SAR shifts the focus from a white European explorer to the new immigrant one. See Kolodny's The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1975).

go off with some of her own people?" (102). Mike Campbell comments, "Brett's gone off with men, but they weren't ever Jews, and they didn't come and hang around afterwards" (143).

In the early draft, it becomes more clear what Brett has lost through crossing ethnic boundaries. Jake writes,

Brett had lost something. Since she had gone to San Sebastian with Cohn she seemed to have lost that quality in her that had never been touched before. All this talking now about former lovers to make this seem quite ordinary. She was ashamed. Really ashamed. She had never been ashamed before. It made her vulgar where before she had been simply going by her rules.⁹

Brett's "vulgar"ity--her "shame"--speaks to the inescapable nature of ethnic rules; while Brett can command the freedom of the New Woman (as Delbert Wylder notes, "She is the 'new woman' or the 'twentieth-century woman,' breaking from the strictures of Victorianism" [91]¹⁰), she cannot escape the larger cultural inscription of bodies within ethnic categories; to transgress such categories is to damage one's class. To be "vulgar" is to be non-aristocratic; to be ashamed is to lower one's head in the face of established social regulations. To cross sexual boundaries is to erase the difference between one group and another, a literal merging of bodies which itself makes clear the grotesque manner of human existence.

⁹ Svoboda, 19, photocopy of manuscript, first draft, Chapter Sixteen, page 71.

¹⁰ For an in-depth look at Brett's role as a New Woman, see Wendy Martin's article on Brett Ashley as a New Woman.

The group's disgust with Brett's act speaks to social anxieties about the risks which accompanied the sexual freedom of the upper class white women. With birth control an increasingly available option and the relaxation of sexual mores, concerns over miscegenation crystallized in the literature. As Walter Benn Michaels notes, we find "Brett with Robert Cohn, Daisy with Jay Gatsby [likened to a Black in the novel by Tom], or Rosamond St. Peter with [the Jewish] Louie Marsellus [in Willa Cather's The Professor's House, 1924]" (41). Brett, while based presumably on Duff Twysden, Hemingway's travelling companion, is also a descendant of her literary analogue Iris March of Michael Arlen's novel The Green Hat (1924). This Brit flirts with an "Italian Jew," exposing a myriad of fears which coalesced around the experimental Newest New Woman.

Many reviewers have noted the similarities between Brett and Iris of this immensely popular romantic book featuring a Newest New Woman as heroine. While Hemingway denied he had read Arlen, critics have disagreed, citing Hemingway's repetitive disavowal of the influences of other writers.¹¹ The similarities between the two women were quite the talk following the publication of SAR. Time magazine's review (1 November 1926) noted that the "widow Lady Brett Ashley" was "borrowed" from Michael Arlen's The Green Hat (48) while Allen

¹¹ See Willey (234-239) for a review of the critical discussion over this point.

Tate, in The Nation (15 December 1926), wrote that Brett Ashley "became the attractive wayward lady of . . . Michael Arlen" (644). Henry Esty Dounce of the New Yorker (20 November 1926) found Brett "a credible and living counterpart of the jejune Iris March" (90), a point which greatly disturbed one editor of The Saturday Review of Literature who commented in "The Phoenix Nest" (30 October 1926),

Brett, Lady Ashley, came as something of a shock. She had strayed out of 'The Green Hat.' We couldn't see what she was doing in Hemingway's novel. We haven't yet seen . . . But there is too much genuine stuff to him ever to be done in by Michael Arlen. Queer! that any of that kind of thing should have stuck to him. (268)¹²

Brett and Iris, in fact, share remarkable similarities: both Brits are described as "boys" with "white" skin, cropped hair; they both wear "felt hats," have been married twice (each have a husband dead from the war), are likened to Circe, and commonly have "affairs." If one reads SAR intertextuality with The Green Hat, one can gain greater insight into the eugenic terror this Newest New Woman evoked.

In The Green Hat, Iris March carries all the markers of the Newest New Woman. With her boyish appearance and refusal to subordinate herself to sexual mores, she fights against the male-entrenched hierarchy of her extended male family who all wish to regulate her sexual activities. While the text

¹² Fitzgerald also noted the similarity between the two texts. In a letter to Hemingway on SAR, he writes, "[Y]ou've done a lot of writing that honestly reminded me of Michael Arlen" (16). I am indebted here to John Robert Willey, Jr.'s coverage of SAR reviews for this section. See 235, 236 of his dissertation.

redeems March at the end, making clear her reputation for indiscretions far outweighed the extent of her actions, she still explores the possibility of cross-ethnic, cross-national sexual liaisons. In a conversation with the English narrator about the management of money, Iris discusses the appeal of Jews who have gained access to financial wealth; she finds them

charming. The rich ones, I mean, and preferably the fat shiny ones. They understand luxury and elegance, and elegance is an enchantment that the skin loves. . . . Furs, jewels, spacious rooms, trellised terraces, all lovely baubles, silks of China, myrrh, frankincense, and motor-cars. . . . Luxury, ease, splendour, spaciousness. You'll say they're florid. Well they are may be, they are, but they're also the last towers of chivalry.

(38-39)

Like Cohn who wants, as Jake comments, "to fight for his lady love," Jews, according to both texts, have adopted concepts of chivalry abandoned by many in the modernist world. They have monetary access to the upper class and likewise to the upper class white women. While Brett and her companions find Cohn's chivalry revolting, Iris finds Jewish chivalry quite fascinating.

The desexualized male narrator of The Green Hat--who like Jake pines for the Newest New Woman character--finds Iris's adoration of Jews not in keeping with class expectations. The narrator learns from his friend Hilary that Iris has been seen "night after night in a Russian cabaret in Vienna with an Italian Jew" (99); he concludes, "After all, one couldn't be more unattractive than an Italian Jew" (100). He feels her

morals have been damaged greatly; she couldn't have done that "unless, that is, she had changed a great deal," a comment perhaps on an increased sexual looseness. Within the context of the conversation, Hillary comments,

Your generation is a mess . . . [the women have gone beyond] an appointment with a trunk-call to Paris . . . [to] have a few day's 'fun' there. . . . [N]ow if a woman has kicked through every restraint of caste and chastity there [,] the whole world open for her to play mischief in, there's every invention in the world to help her indulge her intolerable little lusts. (101)

This concern about the sexual promiscuity coincides with a fear of foreigners and a loss of class ("caste") status; Hilary comments to Iris earlier, "Rushing about Europe like that . . . you let England down. You've no idea, Iris, how these young foreign blighters hold Englishwomen cheap" (62).

Iris has the potential to damage both the nation--to "let England down"--and her class--she has "cheap[ened]" herself. Earlier, the narrator comments that "Englishmen respect their women," implying that foreigners don't. A loss of social status accompanies the act, reminiscent of Brett who Cohn initially perceives as possessing "a certain quality about her, a certain fineness." He doesn't know how to describe the quality but he supposes "it's breeding" (38). Count Mippipopolous finds that even if Brett divorces and loses her aristocratic title, Lady Ashley, she will still have "class all over you." He comments, "You got the most class of anybody I ever seen" (58). Classy Brett, however, seems no longer so after sleeping with Cohn; as mentioned earlier, in

her shame, to Jake, she now seems "vulgar," a word denoting a sharp shift in class. She no longer is empowered to "make her own rules."

If white women can fall from their class positions through their sexual relations with foreigners (in particular, Jews), they also have the power to pollute. As Walter Benn Michaels suggests, novels of the twenties such as SAR registered anxiety over "the feminine threat to racial purity" which was implicit in the structural contradiction of marrying outside of one's family (one might also add, implicit in the sexual act when boundaries between bodies dissolve). As Michaels notes, "the exogamous requirements of marriage (that the woman leave her family) conflict with the endogamous requirements of the race (that the woman be kept in the family)" (41). The Newest New Woman posed a particular problem, as in her rebellion, she dared to cross all sexual boundaries, including those which were discursively registered as racial, national, or gendered (lesbianism). Hemingway locates the power to pollute the male within the body of this type of woman when he casts Pedro Romero as a eugenic figure for Spaniards, who can be tainted by the Cohn-stained Brett.

Hemingway's investment in Pedro cannot be dissociated from discourses of nationalism; Pedro represents an institution considered a national treasure. Furthermore, he functions as a type of transplanted Nordic fantasy staged on Spanish shores. When eugenicists envisioned the figure of the

fighting Nordic, they appealed to the desires to create a nation unaffected by immigration, war, or social or economic upheavals. They wrote into that body certain consistent unchangeable traits--intelligence, courage, emotional rationality--which once replicated would preserve, in Calvin Coolidge's words, the "character" of a nation. The desire for a perfect replicable Nordic male body--as Madison Grant would describe it, "very tall, fair skinned, with blond . . . hair and light-colored eyes" ("the perfect blond type") (17,22)--flew in the face of the fear that the Nordic population had been greatly destroyed by what Stoddard called World War I, the "white Civil War." As Grant noted, "All the states involved in the present world war have sent to the front their fighting Nordic element, and the loss of life now going on in Europe will fall much more heavily on the blond giant than on the little brunet [Mediterraneans and Alpines as Grant called the Southeastern and Central Europeans]" (66); Grant perceived this as a class loss, as "class suicide on a gigantic scale" (200). Eugenics offered a solution to this perceived racial (and class) decimation; "unit characters" or genes offered the blueprint for the reproduction of a body, and thus the recreation of the nation. Grant argued that unit characters or "bodily characters . . . such as skull shape, stature, eye color, hair color, and nose form, are transmitted in accordance with fixed mathematical laws" which likewise are "closely associated [with] the immutability of psychic

predispositions and impulses" (11-12, xv). In addition, "[u]nit characters are to all intents and purposes immutable, and they do not change during the lifetime of a language or an empire" (13). Through genes, a nation could be rebuilt; eugenics offered, Henry Fairfield Osborn wrote in Grant's introduction, "the conservation and multiplication for our country of the best spiritual, moral, intellectual, and physical forces of heredity; thus only will the integrity of our institutions be maintained" (viii).

In SAR, the state institution which the text reveres is the bullfight and its ~~torero~~. Pedro Romero is presented in the text as one who has inherited qualities which allow him to be the premier fighter, a point reminiscent of the Nordic male whose inherent bravery brings him into so much danger. Like the Nordic, Pedro is born with certain qualities that can never be learned; Jake comments to Brett, "He knew everything when he started. The others can't ever learn what he was born with" (168). Romero has "the absolute purity of line in his movements"; he "had the old thing, the holding of his purity of line through the maximum of exposure, while he dominated the bull by making him realize he was unattainable, while he prepared him for the killing" (168). Romero's "purity of line" allows him to evoke from his watchers "real emotion" (168); "Romero never made any contortions, always it was straight and pure and natural in line" (167).

The text's emphasis on the "pure" (versus "impure") and "natural" (versus "unnatural") speaks of a rhetoric of exclusion which also delineates the "real" from the "imitation," the "original" from the "fake." Jake writes, "This was a real one. There had not been a real one for a long time" (164). As the "real," Romero represents the state, locating himself as a "Nacional," representative of a certain true unadulterated Spanish bravery. Such qualities are linked in the text to a physical representation of the male body which celebrates its beauty, ironically evocative of the eugenic worship of classical Nordic male. When Jake comments, "The others can't ever learn what he was born with," Brett responds, "And God, what looks" (168). Pedro's looks seem part and parcel of his "purity of line." Jake writes, "I noticed his skin. It was clear and smooth and very brown" (185); "He was the best looking boy I'd ever seen . . . He was standing, straight and handsome" (163). Jake continues, "He's a damned good-looking boy . . . I never saw a better looking kid" (167). He looks "far away and very dignified" (163), an object of worship, not unlike the statuesque Nordic with his white-skinned visage. His body replaced Jake's as a point of adoration. While Jake's emasculated form speaks of damaged physical boundaries, Pedro's is "straight" and "fine."

Jake's adoration for Pedro is framed within a larger narrative of inclusions and exclusions; Montoya introduces Jake to Pedro as a man who has "aficion" or a passion for

bullfighting, a sign of respect which Montoya only confers on a select few. This sign is communicated by touch--Montoya puts his hand on Jake's shoulder. Inclusion in the group is awarded to those who passed a "sort of oral spiritual examination" (132) followed by "putting the hand on the shoulder . . . nearly always there was actual touching" (132). This sign is communicated strictly between men. Women do not figure into this system as members. Subjects are created in and through a "closed [male] system" so that the female body, as one which gives birth to subjects, is finally eliminated (Davidson and Davidson 93).¹³

As Walter Benn Michaels notes, this system of touching metaphorically replaces what once were issues of blood purity, made law with the adoption of bullfighting in the sixteenth century. After the Christian reconquest, following the expulsion of Jews in 1492 and Muslims in 1502, the bullfight became according to Marc Shell, "the nationalist event in Spanish history" (26). At the center of the conquest, the Statutes of the Purity of the Blood were drawn up to separate Christians and non-Christians by means of blood, thus fixing "the difference between national and nonnational" (Shell 30).

¹³ Davidson and Davidson note that *aficion* is "a perfectly closed system: One either is in or one is not, it takes one to know one, and if you have to ask how you clearly do not belong. The very arbitrariness of the unspecified signs affirms their absolute significance." The authors see the "Club *Aficion*" as "restricted (no Jews need apply)" and "male (despite Brett's proclaimed intuitive understanding of bullfighting, she can never belong)" (93-94).

Based upon this background, Michaels suggests that for Hemingway "aficion plays the role of pure blood, defining the group to which the Jew Robert Cohn cannot belong."¹⁴ One might say the system functions differently in an additional way. By replacing "blood," aficion serves as a means for eradicating the intervening damaging hand of women, Michaels's "female" who threatened "racial purity." No biological reproduction is involved, therefore no risk of pollution by Nordic women who may already have damaged themselves through sexual relations with racial or ethnic outsiders. Yet even outside this system, these women hover about, endangering on other levels, those who are "pure" in line.

Pedro's prominence as a national treasure stands threatened by the polluted Brett. When Montoya questions Jake about whether he should pass on a message about meeting with the American ambassador to Pedro, Jake feels he shouldn't pass it on. He warns ominously and without a named referent of the offending party, "There's one American woman down here now that collects bull-fighters." Montoya responds with concern for Pedro: "He's such a fine boy He ought to stay with his own people. He shouldn't mix in that stuff" (172). When Jake introduces Brett to Romero later, Montoya shuns Jake for breaking the rules of aficionados, betraying their trust by introducing Romero to a foreign woman. He disowns Jake from the family, again a family formed beyond the requirements of

¹⁴ Michaels, 160-161, note 133.

biological relations, a spiritual family. In Brett's interactions with Romero, one can already sense the dissipation of his national identity. He speaks English with her, claiming he must not let any of his own people know: "It would be very bad, a toreo who speaks English." Then he "mimics exactly the expression of a Nacional" as is he no longer identified with his nation.

The Spanish system of reproduction attempts to negotiate eugenic fears in other important ways. Instead of proving bravery through the war, one can prove bravery in the ring, a symbolic replication of the war-time situation which allowed those Nordic males to prove their bravery but at too great a bodily cost for the continuation of the "race" or the reproduction of bounded subjects. The Nordic contradiction--how to signify Nordics as brave and unconquerable yet expose them to life-threatening situations without loss--served as a weak point of eugenic logic. As the anxiety over white women's bodies revealed, even biological genetic reproduction was not flawless in that it was subject to outside forces which could pollute the women, interfering with the duplication process.

The bullfight provided the perfect scenario for enacting domination in ways which the war provided yet finally failed; bodies, in battle, proved too vulnerable to destruction. The text resolves this dilemma by restaging the struggle in the bull ring where matadors would test their manliness while

spectators--those with aficion--could participate vicariously without subjecting their bodies to the potential trauma of the event. After watching bullfights, Hemingway notes in a letter to a former ambulance driver in the War and friend Bill Horne,

It isn't just brutal like they always told us. It's a great tragedy - and the most beautiful thing I've ever seen and takes more guts and skill and guts again than nothing possibly could. It's just like having a ringside seat at the war with nothing [sic] going to happen to you. (88)

The similarities between war and bullfighting are also reinforced in Hemingway's In Our Time (1924). His short war vignettes in which both Nick and the enemies are paralyzed or damaged by bullets are followed by bullfighting scenes in which the bullfighter is victorious over the bull, anticipating Romero's final domination.

By staging the war-time tragedy within the ring, the text offers the war-wounded emasculated Jake a means of experiencing his masculinity which allows him to distance himself from his own bodily deficiencies, his grotesque state, incomplete, shattered, bodily boundaries crossed in the trauma of war. Jake sidesteps this bodily deficiency when imaginatively, he becomes an aficionado, thus escaping the Nordic dilemma of proving oneself physically invincible yet facing the dangers of physical destruction. While the text finally rejects bullfighting as a viable means for reaffirming masculinity--Jake will leave Spain and abandon the bullfight and Romero as meaningful parts of his life--, it still registers the eugenic desire to recreate the untouched male

body, the bounded male body of eugenicists, worshipped as a vehicle for reestablishing racial and class hierarchies and national boundaries.

Hemingway's substitution of a Spaniard for the Nordic, of course, destabilizes the divisions between Nordic and the denigrated "Mediterranean." Hemingway's commitment to narratives of masculinity transcend the racial divide even as they enact a eugenic logic. To stage such a fantasy overseas allows an imaginary playing field untouched by the politics of home, untouched by racial and economic unrest, or by Nordic rhetoric, which given Hemingway's rendition of Grant's The Passing of the Great Race, remained for him, in his own war-damaged body, distinctly unreal. By displacing such fantasies to a foreign realm, he reenters an arena of suspended disbelief where the exotic male can transcend the limits of the body and attain a type of spiritual mastery but still within a physically driven realm. This fantasy still carries echoes of eugenics as it mimics the politics of home.

Pedro's killing of the bull is tied to a ritual ethnic cleansing, as if he were an Nordic stripping the text of its ethnic other. The text juxtaposes Pedro's purity with Cohn's pollution. Jake narrates, "After Romero had killed his first bull Montoya caught my eye and nodded his head. This was a real one." Soon after, Bill looks across at Cohn, and seeing his lack of appreciation for the "real," he responds, "That kike!" (164). Cohn's failure to appreciate the heroics of the

bullfight and fighter becomes linked to bodily and spiritual filth. He fights with Pedro over Brett, beating him badly. Yet when Pedro enters the bullring afterwards, Jake comments, "The fight with Cohn had not touched his spirit but his face had been smashed and his body hurt. He was wiping all that out now. Each thing that he did with this bull wiped that out a little cleaner" (219). Romero reestablishes a spiritual mastery over the damaged body (eliminating the filth of bodily contact with Cohn) through engagement with the bull. This engagement, as critics note, has violent sexual overtones:¹⁵

Romero's left hand dropped the muletta over the bull's muzzle to blind him, his left shoulder went forward between the horns as the sword went in, and for just an instant he and the bull were one, Romero way out over the bull, the right arm extended high up to where the hilt of the sword had gone in between the bull's shoulders. Then the figure was broken. (218)

Romero finishes with "his shirt ripped out from under his sleeve, the white blowing in the wind, and the bull, the red sword hilt tight between his shoulders" (218-219).

This sexualized massacre receives State approval: "The President looked down from the box and waved his handkerchief . . . Romero took the ear . . . and held it up toward the President. The President bowed" (220). Cohn, at this point, leaves the text for its remainder while the "bull lay heavy and black on the sand, his tongue out." Pedro's ritual seems to expunge the filthy Cohn. His eradication metaphorically

¹⁵ See Davidson and Davidson for an exploration of the bullfight in which "sex (life) and death are . . . hopelessly intermingled" (96).

carries official sanction, much like the immigration quotas which severely limited the number of Jews entering the country in 1924.

Shortly thereafter, Jake and Bill sit in a cafe, sipping absinthe, talking about the vanished Cohn. "Boys were watching" as Bill and Jake sip a dark absinthe (221), establishing a scene reminiscent of the "[b]oys [who] were running toward him [Pedro] from all parts of the arena, making a little circle around him. They were starting to dance around the bull" (220). With their black liquor in hand, Bill and Jake now dance around the lost Cohn;

"Oh, to hell with Cohn," I [Jake] said.
 "What do you suppose he'll do?" [asks Bill.]
 "Oh, to hell with him." (222)

Absinthe, the drink Jake now calls "pleasantly bitter," has been their drink of choice throughout the bullfights; Brett takes a sip to erase the "pleasantly bitter" taste of seeing the horse gored, another displaced image of the "gored" Cohn (166).

The textual resolution of Cohn's threat suggests that white male mastery over eugenic terror must occur through white male eradication of the ethnic/racial Others, whether that be through physical mastery and/or verbal decimation. This killing--sexualized in nature--speaks of a homoerotic sado-masochism, that is killing one who is like you, someone like Cohn who fights back but finally is always already the chosen loser. Metaphorically, Cohn's physical boundaries

collapse in the figure of the bull while Romero's remain intact (physically with the bull, spiritually in relation to Cohn), allowing Jake the pleasure of visualizing the perfect classical male. In the text, Hemingway narrates Cohn as one already emasculated. While Cohn is compared earlier to a steer (he comments, "It's no life being a steer" [141]), so is the bull. Mike yells out, "Bulls have no balls" (176) to the young Pedro. Establishing a masculine prerogative means killing off--through acts or words--the sexualized darkened other to prevent infiltration to the female, replacing her and supplanting her, thus keeping the family "pure." Hemingway erases the need for the female body in the reproduction of subjectivities and dominates the darkened other before he can pose a threat to the identity of the bullfighter, the bounded classical male.

Hemingway's text then renegotiates and reinforces a eugenic politics of identity. The classical bounded body of the eugenicists re-emerges as an anchor, a Lacanian moi, for the stabilization of subjectivity. The other--the bull, the polluting Cohn--is abjected. The male exists without a maternal figure, removed from that which it has spit out, and the woman, who threatens to pollute, is removed from the practices of the reproduction of identities, grounded upon the biological production of bodies. The conditions of subjectivity are played out on an historical field so that the

wartime damage to white male bodies finds a vision in a reconfigured masculinity.

Hemingway's TOS and SAR offer then a double-edged-sword--a damning of eugenic mores along with the revision of such mores in the search for the purified ideal of an untouchable eugenic body. The war (so emasculating to men) and the emergence of women as potent sexual beings (threatening to familial structures of a dominant patriarchy and imaginary) could be responded to in kind with the reassertion of male body, pure and clean, visualized beyond the limits of material and bodily inadequacies. Fear of merging finds its "racial" answer figured in the form of a classical (yet spiritual) "eugenic" man.

CHAPTER 4
IMAGINING THE STATUESQUE: H.D., EUGENICS, AND THE AESTHETICS
OF LESBIAN IDENTITY

H.D. and the Politics of Eugenics

H.D. provides a much needed contrast to the masculine aesthetics of Hemingway's work which tends to reify a patriarchal ideology even as it challenges eugenic worship of the white male in his depiction of Pedro Romero. H.D. takes issue with the patriarchal system itself, highlighting how concepts of race intersect with notions of patrilineality in oppressive omnipresent ways. Her feminist stance, however, does not imply a complete abnegation of eugenic hierarchies. Her narrators adopt such divisions as a means to delineate the parameters of an amorphous androgynous lesbian identity. She reinvokes racial and ethnic divisions in her autobiographical fiction when her narrators discover that the "I" is not separate from the other in the sameness of white lesbian love. Yet this very movement also becomes a point of critique; in her earliest work, she problematizes racial divisions, searching for ways to revisualize the body as not only crossing gender boundaries, but also racial boundaries as her characters search for interconnection.

While H.D. is widely regarded as a poet, her autobiographical fiction more completely makes clear her relationship to issues of race. For the purposes of this study, I will restrict myself to H.D.'s three autobiographical fictions of the 1920s--Paint It Today (written 1921), Asphodel (written 1921-22), and Hermione (c. 1927), each of which provide commentary on her relationship to race and eugenics from her early memories up until the 1920s. All three texts deal with H. D.'s early adult life, first in the States and then in London. She was engaged to Ezra Pound whom she left for a lesbian relationship with Frances Gregg. She then married Richard Aldington in London and separated, having a daughter Perdita with Cecil Gray. Each text ends with her relationship with Winifred Allerman (Bryher), her partner of twenty-seven years, who adopted Perdita as a sign of their commitment. I shall focus primarily on the narration of her shift from a heterosexual involvement with Pound to a lesbian relationship with Gregg before the H.D., Bryher, Perdita triad. I will reverse the chronology of H.D.'s texts for purposes of intelligibility; H.D. writes about her relationship to eugenics as a young woman in the U.S., still living with her family, in her last text Hermione. She depicts more completely her lesbian relationships of her later years more completely in her earlier texts Asphodel and Paint It Today. The reversed chronology of texts allows us to see a forward chronology of life events.

In Hermione, I will chart H.D.'s exploration of the intricate tie between conservative race and gender ideologies of eugenics. I will show how she challenges the discursive boundaries of the science when she identifies with her African-American maid as a means for visualizing gender emancipation. Yet she returns to eugenics' primary values in her honoring of the white statuesque androgyne (another version of the classical Nordic male) in sections of both Hermione and Asphodel. Her reverence for the statuesque occurs in contrast with abjected immigrant bodies. She deconstructs these divisions in Paint It Today where she lays bare the anxieties about the damaged male bodies of World War I. Instead of responding in horror, like the eugenics who created an image of an impenetrable isolated body (or like Hemingway who sought a similar way for re-making the damaged body), she became interested in exploring the interconnections between bodies and identities following the carnage of the war. For her, the war broke down social boundaries in a way that celebrated interconnection between groups. Racial and gender divisions blur as H.D. seeks to synthesize an identity more accepting of the grotesque state of the body, forever caught in a cycle of life and death.

The Historical Moment

H.D. was born in Pennsylvania in 1886 at a time when anxieties about race and ethnicity were on the rise. In 1891,

the Massachusetts Institute of Technology president and 1870 census director Francis Walker announced in The Forum that "new immigrants" from Southeastern and Central Europe were flooding the country, "amount[ing] not to a reinforcement of our population, but to the replacement of native by foreign stock" (642). By the turn of the century, a "race suicide" scare was well underway, targeted at ideologically isolating the new immigrants from their "old stock" counterparts.

Raised in part in Philadelphia, H.D. most likely was exposed to such rhetoric; in 1910, the city was the third largest city for processing new immigrants in the country,¹ which may account for why Southeastern immigrants--Italians--appear in her autobiographical fiction. In Asphodel, her lead character works at a settlement house for Italians, probably much like the church established by Ezra Pound's parents for Italian immigrants of the Philadelphia slums in 1903 (Flory 25). H.D. knew Pound during this period--from 1901 on (she was briefly engaged to him in 1908)--and may have visited his parents' mission (Flory 31). By the time she attended Bryn Mawr (1905-1907), there was wide spread press coverage of the horrors of "race suicide"; as mentioned in Chapters I and II, the native-born "New Woman," in particular, was charged with

¹ As noted in L.E. Cofer's "The Medical Examination of Arriving Aliens," in Medical Problems of Immigration: Being the Paper and Their Discussion Presented at the XXXVII Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Medicine, Held at Atlantic City, June 1, 1912 (Easton, PA: American Academy of Medicine Press, 1913) 38.

depleting the "race" by going to college and delaying childbirth. Such concerns about the new woman figure prominently in H.D.'s 1927 text Hermione which details most completely her years as a maturing young woman in the states and draws most heavily on racially coded language. As eugenicists of the period feared, women like H.D. attended to intellectual concerns instead of their reproductive "duty" to the nation.

Eugenic Fathers and the Limits of Heterosexuality

Hermione draws explicit attention to H.D.'s early exposure to scientific discourse; as her friend William Carlos Williams suggested, "scientific research dominated [her] household" which may account for H.D.'s interest in eugenics (2-3). While her father and brother studied the stars, her maternal grandfather investigated plants, publishing three definitive taxonomic texts on algae before 1900 (Robinson 5-6).² Before moving to Philadelphia, H.D. lived next door to Wolle, who biographer Janice Robinson describes as her "'other' father" (4). He was fascinated with the reproduction and classification of plants in ways which mimicked the work of Gregor Mendel, the scientist who laid the groundwork for modern genetics and (inadvertently) for early American eugenics--the seed bed of American racism--in his famous peas

² Francis Wolle, Desmids of the United States (1884), Freshwater Algae of the United States (1887), and Diatomaecae of North America (1890).

experiments of the mid-1800s. While Mendel cross-pollinated and cross-bred his wrinkled and smooth, green and yellow peas, H.D.'s grandfather pored over strains of algae, fascinated with their reproductive ability to "produce thousands of its own kind in the course of a few days" (Fresh-water Algae of the United States, 1887; xiv). In Hermione, this grandfather appears in the form of a father and brother who "breed" algae in basement aquariums (96).

In this fictional piece, H.D. adopts Mendel's language when algae, an asexual organism, develops the properties of the famous peas. Fictional father Carl and brother Bertrand Gart take "cross-sections" to breed "cross-hatchings" much like Mendel who "cross-bred" his peas. Bertrand, in fact, seems buried in genetic research; he is working on developing a "connecting 'link'" between math and biology, a "theorem of general mathematical biological affinity" (19), sounding much like Grant's description of the blossoming field of eugenics-- a biological science based on "fixed mathematical laws" (7).

Mendelian ratios, which determined whether "recessive" or "dominant" traits would be passed to an offspring, were gaining wide popularity at the time of the text's setting (the turn of the century); U.S. scientists were madly experimenting with other "cross-hatchings," propagating peas, corn, fruit flies, bread mold, and bacteria (Haller 62). In 1904, biologist Charles Davenport set up the nation's first eugenic laboratory at Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island. He moved from

experimenting with poultry and canaries to work on humans, sending out staff to collect genealogical data on eye color, hair, and skin color, and then on such "traits" as insanity, epilepsy, alcoholism, pauperism, criminality, and "feeble-mindedness" (Kevles 46). Like many of his colleagues, Davenport concluded that such traits were associated with national origins or what many considered racial identity (Kevles 46). With the influx of new immigrants, Davenport predicted that Americans would become "darker in pigmentation, smaller in stature, more mercurial . . . more given to crimes of larceny, kidnapping assault, murder, rape, and sex-immorality" (221-222). Like others, he was concerned about miscegenation, that act which, if multiplied (he predicted), could lead to the downfall of the nation.

Like the eugenicists who applied Mendelian ratios to human characteristics, H.D. transfers reproductive metaphors from plants to people, drawing on what became by the 1920s popular concepts of race. Hermione describes her family as "Nordic, they were New English, they were further extinguished by Germanic affiliation. They budded from a South German affiliation to be blighted with the cross-purposes of New England" (46). The "bud[ing]" and "blight[ing]" of Hermione's family based on national origins and geographic dislocations reflects the growing importance of national origins as a signature for all other traits. Grant, for instance, characterized Germans as "Alpines," a race of short muscular

dark-haired men, who, as farmers, lacked the leadership qualities necessary for strengthening a democratic nation. They mixed badly with the fair-haired Nordic ("Nordic," "New English") who as age-old conquerors, were genetically blueprinted to become leaders. In H.D.'s terms, the various strains (and environments) mix badly, leading to "blight"; the English or Nordic were "extinguished by Germanic affiliation" while the South German "affiliation" is "blighted" through association with a new region. Her adaptation of eugenic rhetoric speaks not to an easy acceptance of eugenic terms, however, but rather an uneasy relationship with a discourse largely governed by patriarchal concerns.

During the early 1900s, the primary focus of eugenicists coalesced around the changing role of middle and upper class white women who, as mentioned, were going to college and not reproducing, scientists believed, thus presumably depleting the "race." In 1901, Arthur Macdonald argued in The Philadelphia Medical Journal that attending college lowered a "old stock's" woman's ability to bear children. Another writer estimated that in 1904 in Massachusetts, married alumnae were averaging only 1.8 children, a far cry from Theodore Roosevelt's advocated four.³ Charles Franklin Emerick, in his study "College Women and Race Suicide," found that by 1909, only 16.5 per cent of the 1900 class of

³ An Alumna, "Alumna's Children," Popular Science Monthly May 1904: 4-5.

Radcliffe graduates were married, thus depleting the "race."⁴ Next to an article about the increasing immigration in Popular Science Monthly, physician A. Laphorn Smith reported in "Higher Education and Race Suicide" that attending college leads to a diminishment of a woman's ability to "love, honor and obey," destroying thus the institution of marriage and finally the "race" (471)⁵. Such rhetoric emerged in tandem with Roosevelt's popularization of the term "race suicide" and his concerns about the New Woman, establishing thus a discourse which firmly tied white female sexual regulation to eugenic reproduction.

Roosevelt's use of the term "race" refers loosely to New England "old stock"; in some instances, such as in "Race Decadence" (Outlook April 8, 1911), he associates the term "race" with "white" (speaking of a "White Australia") and nation (France has one "race"). His campaign against "race suicide" was delivered in part through the popular periodicals of the time. In Ladies Home Journal of Feb. 21, 1906, during the years H.D. attended Bryn Mawr (1905-1907), an editorial writer ("Intimately Acquainted and in Close Touch with Him [Roosevelt]") described how the

President's Campaign Against Race Suicide has been directed toward bridging a better realization of the pathos of having good old families represented in the next generation by smaller numbers than in

⁴ Charles Franklin Emerick, "College Women and Race Suicide," Political Science Quarterly June 1909: 270.

⁵ Popular Science Monthly March 1905: 67.

this, and still worse of having them run out entirely. (21)

The diminishment of "good old families" was occurring, the author suggested, because of the "emancipation of woman which has come to pass in the last century" (21). Eight years later, Roosevelt was still pressing eugenicists to "get desirable people to breed" ("Twisted Eugenics" 32). "[O]ld stock" New Englanders who failed to procreate contributed to the race problem, committing an "unpardonable crime against the race"--"race suicide." He continues,

I am a very firm believer in the new woman, but the only new woman in whom I believe is she who adds new qualities to, and does not try to substitute them for, the primal, the fundamental, virtues of the 'old' woman--she who was the wife, the mother, the sweetheart, the sister, of the past. . . . Let professors of eugenics turn their attention to making it plain to the average college graduates . . . that it is their prime duty to the race to leave their seed after them to inherit the earth. (33)⁶

Getting an education must not substitute for the necessity of "racial" procreation.

In Hermione, the lead character resists any easy inscription into such narratives, refusing to wait for marriage to be kissed (that feared prelude to the sexual act) nor honoring motherhood as the true path of a "woman." While the fictional mother Eugenia anxiously works to interpellate the daughter within conventional narratives of gender,

⁶ For the same argument restated, see Roosevelt's "A Premium on Race Suicide," The Outlook, Sept. 27, 1913 (105) 163-4.

Hermione balks at "house work, garden work," questioning why Eugenia works so hard at domestic production, in particular shelling peas. When her mother defends her vocation as a necessary support of the father whose work, Eugenia claims, is "more important," Hermione transforms her own internal refrain from a dictate "go on shelling peas, go on shelling peas" to a thrice repeated question: "Shall I go on shelling peas forever?" (96). Eugenia's name suggests a play on the science itself while her task assignment, "shelling peas," metonymically invokes Mendel's wrinkled yellow and greens.⁷ Hermione upsets her mother's policing of her sexual practices by parodying eugenic terror itself--What might happen if the nation were to collapse through rampant miscegenation?

Off in the woods with her suitor George Lowndes (alias Ezra Pound), Hermione allows for the forbidden kiss. George already has garnered public scorn when during his first college teaching job, he had a woman up to his room, leading to his firing. Eugenia chastises Hermione for wandering late in the woods, repeatedly exclaiming, "You can't go on this way" (78); George has a "reputation." Hermione responds with a eugenic diatribe, trying to "get her [Eugenia] off" track:

"This business of the United States, United States of America" (Get her off, hare and hounds, you can't go on this way.) "You get no sort of cohesion out of a thing so immense. You can't expect every one of us equally to sympathize with Southern Spanish California and New York Dutch and Middle Western and French from

⁷ While H.D.'s mother's middle name actually was Eugenia, her fictional name also may be a play on the word "eugenics."

Louisiana. This thing that any one can say united we stand is all rot. We can't stand united. Divided we would probably stand. You're defying laws of science," (hare and hounds) "mathematics and chemistry by trying to mix such mobs heterogeneously. You can't expect things to go on forever this way. You'll get mob rule and then mob rule and then mob rule." (78-79)

Hermione's harangue reworks her mother's "You can't go on this way," satirically aligning her own premarital sexual dalliance with the national eugenic pandemonium. Her repeated statements "You can't" and "we can't" parallel her mother's "You can't," suggesting that H.D. was aware of eugenic terror over the New Woman's perceived sexual freedoms. The reference to the "laws of science" and "mathematics and chemistry" mimics the eugenicist insistence on the connection between mathematics and biology, on those fixed biological ratios which supported Nordic procreation. The New Woman (the premarital sexual woman) is failing to become the good mother, a point the narrative juxtaposes with the "mob rule and then mob rule"; old immigrant Americans are disappearing while the biologically confused masses rule. And while H.D. does not tie this emergence of the "mob" to the arrival of the so-called new immigrants of Southeastern Europe, she does link it to reasons eugenicists used for justifying why new immigrants should not be allowed in the country

Eugenicists turned to older ethnic groups as examples to prove why current incoming groups could never assimilate. Grant argued in The Reader's Digest in September 1925 that the failure of the Pennsylvania Dutch, the "French habitant

colonies of New England or the Ghettoes of New York" and the "Pennsylvania Germans" are "excellent examples of the tendency to develop alien colonies in our midst . . . [I]t will take centuries before the foreigners now here become Americans" ("America for Americans" 368). He goes on to compare these colonies to those of new immigrants and concludes,

Our institutions are Anglo-Saxon and can be maintained by Anglo-Saxons and by other Nordic peoples in sympathy with our culture . . . The aliens in our midst are not assimilated as it was fatuously believed a few decades ago. Recent discussions have brought out clearly the fact that those who are alien in race and religion have not amalgamated with the native population. (368)

H.D.'s playful banter about eugenics and its relationship to Hermione's sexuality highlights her insistence on damning the science. She finds the "mathematical-biological" definitions of her father and brother oppressive. She connects paternal definition to eugenic nationalism, her narrator imagining herself metaphorically caught by the language of the Fathers, wedged within a stifling aquarium of eugenic experimentation. She obsesses in her mind, "Uncle Sam, Carl-Bertrand-Gart God, shut us up in a box, with temperatures too high and temperatures too low to breed new specimens like Bertrand Gart, like Carl Gart in their aquariums" (96). The overlay of masculine authorities--nation, father, brother, God--suggests the gendered weight of Fathers who sought to regulate cultural (eugenic) norms. (As the text opens, we can hear such echoes in Hermione's cry when she looks up into a "green pool" of tree leaves and finds,

"clutching towards some definition of herself, . . . 'I am Her Gart' didn't let her hold on. . . . Gart, Gart, Gart and the Gart theorem of mathematical biological intention" [4].)⁸ While critics such as Friedman and DuPlessis link such a paternal presence solely with gender ideologies, such concerns were always already interwoven with racial anxieties.⁹ With such a focus on Nordic reproduction, the political temperatures within the nation were certainly too "high" or heated or too "low" or frigid for the acceptance of the alternative subjectivities H.D. entertained, in particular, a non-reproductive lesbianism.

Imagining the Statuesque: Identifying Across Racial Borders

H.D. creates a lesbian identity, freeing herself from the bonds of heterosexuality, by momentarily, as Susan Stanford Friedman argues, identifying "across margins." She visualizes the transformation of her African-American maid

⁸ Hermione also experiences this same feeling with George, her fiancé, who wants her to be a "traditional" woman with her hair up; she associates George with "the green of branches" and "torrid tropic water," with "some scheme of biological mathematical definition" which "left Her dizzy" (70-71). Friedman suggests that the tree image relates to a reference made by Pound in his poems about H.D. In "Rendezvous," the H.D. figure maintains the "dumb semblance" of a tree. See PW 116-118. I'd suggest that eugenic family trees, with their emphasis on patrilineal naming, may well be the subject of this image.

⁹ As DuPlessis notes, the objective pronoun "Her" as a name for the subject locates Hermione in an object position, a fitting grammatical reflection of "woman" in "the role of object, not speaking subject" ("Romantic Thralldom" 72). Also see Friedman, PW 118.

Mandy from one oppressed to one liberated as one step in imaging her own break from conservative narratives of gender. As Friedman notes, "Identification with the black woman paves the way for her later experience of difference . . . lesbian love" ("Modernism" 105-106). During a summer cloudburst, Hermione perceives Mandy as a glorified Egyptian. A storm rages outside much like the "sort of thunderstorm, with heat and cold and intersecting rays of lightning" which mushroomed inside Hermione's mind while she was shelling peas inside the national "aquarium." The "Uncle Sam, Carl-Bertrand-Gart God" box with temperatures "[t]oo high and temperatures too low to breed new specimens" now becomes the dining room's interior as "heavy tropic waters" beat down on the roof making Hermione feel like she is "deep underwater" (87). Oppressive narratives of race circulate, enforced by the mother. Hermione comments to Eugenia (with "gray-green underwater features"), "We're all green like faces under water." But when she gazes at Mandy, she sees her differently:

"[We were] [n]ot all green . . ." Mandy was standing with them. "Mandy's different." . . . Mandy (exquisite bronze) was a brazier burning in that bleak room. Mandy was bronze like a brazier (they--Hermione, Eugenia--were bottle-green) but Hermione couldn't say it. Eugenia was shushing at Hermione. (88)

To be labeled "bronze" already places Mandy beyond the codes of the eugenicists who labeled African-Americans "black" (one of the despised groups along with the "yellow," "brown" and "red" races) as a means of describing what Lothrop Stoddard

described as the "rising tide of color" (236). Hermione realizes she cannot comment on Mandy's beauty or her envisioned symbolic liberation as that would upset the social etiquette required for registering codes of race and class at the table:

I can't say Mandy is a bronze. I can't say Mandy looks like Etruscan bronze dredged from the mid-Ionian with colour flashing against her polished bronze . . . I won't say Mandy is like a bronze giving out iridescence like a flying fish, there is a blue-green iridescence across the copper polish and her face is fixed like a bronze face, her eyes are set in like agates in a Mena-period Egyptian effigy. I won't say that. I must say, "What Mandy--not more hot cakes?" (89)

Indeed, within this water-drenched house, racism and classicism flourish. Minnie, Bertrand's wife, comments at one point, "[T]hese darkies are so dreadful" (39) while another woman --in the midst of "suffocating heat" (reminiscent of the "torrid waters")--whispers at a luncheon, "That darkie [sic] is one of the real old southern kind. I was saying to Mrs. Trecken the other day at New Bairnsworth that Mrs. Gart was certainly most fortunate" (115). Hermione's revision of Mandy--casting her as an Egyptian effigy, beautiful yet ageless--reframes her outside of her immediate racial history of subservience and subordination.

Hermione now identifies with Mandy as a mythic statue, seeing herself living beyond gender constraints, re-birthed in a body unmarked by "mathematical-biological definition." Her mother retells her birth story which Hermione reeses,

with Mandy present. As the storm pounds outside, Mandy put a log on the fire, lighting the room, while Eugenia lifts Hermione beyond the scientific realm into the world of myth: "The morning stars sang together. Words of Eugenia had more power than textbooks, than geometry, than all of Carl Gart. . . . Carl Gart wasn't brilliant like Eugenia" (89). The mother names a nurse figure who Hermione names "Demeter," a savior who has "driven the raging storm back" (90). As Friedman notes, even though Eugenia is "caught in the world of the fathers," Hermione "attempts to see beneath the frozen surface of her mother to Demeter, to the powerful mother who can nourish her lost daughter" (PW 122-3). Demeter, a figure familiar to H.D., also appears in one of her poems in Hymen as a savior. H.D. replaces Zeus with Demeter; in the myth Zeus rescues Dionysus from Semele's lightning-struck womb, placing the child in his thigh until birthing time. Hermione is that displaced child here, rescued by Demeter from the storm. The child Dionysus, an effeminate male, seems an appropriate referent for Hermione whose androgynous identity is beginning to emerge.¹⁰ She cannot see herself yet, however.

Gaining sight occurs through Mandy. Hermione figures herself as a blind statue: "Her [own] eyes were statue's eyes, blurred over, eye-spaces where eyes should be. Her

¹⁰ See Thomas Burnett Swann, The Classical World of H.D. (Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1962) 43-44 for a reading of H.D.'s reinterpretation of the myth.

eyes were a blank covered with a white surface . . . with eyes of a statue seeing nothing" (90). But she remembers Egyptians had statues with "cut and modeled with eyes of stones. A beautiful stone shining . . . two agate-dark dark eyes with bright very-white white around them. Mandy's eyes are set in her head like those eyes" (90-91). Hermione sees the mother in the mirror first before she can imagine seeing a release from her own subjective confinement. In mythic time and place, Mandy escapes her own entrapment, symbolically and visually mothering the newborn. Simultaneously (and perhaps not surprisingly), Hermione's father's eugenic experiments are destroyed by the storm-- "flooded out, the cross section and the cross hatching were simply flooded out"; she feels like "[s]omething had broken" inside her (92). She now imagines herself as statuesque and free of her father. Unlike the eugenicists who imagined a statuesque male body, a Nordic body (often visualized as descended from classical Greeks) or Hemingway who envisioned a classical Spanish male body, H.D.'s narrator imagines herself as an androgynous figure, whole, statuesque (and Greek), unbounded by male naming, alongside the figure of an African-American (Egyptian) woman. In the statue, Lacan's "moi" finds its reflection, one outside normative rules of gender codification.

Abjecting the Mother, Embracing the Androgyne

Identifying across racial lines does not, however, remain a consistent pattern of representation in H.D.'s work. As her narrators negotiate the difficulties of entering a lesbian continuum--entering into relationships in which identities fuse into one--the relationship to the celebrated Mandy and other groups considered "races" during this period, disintegrates. In Mandy's case, the worshipped mother/emancipator is replaced by a lesbian other who provides the imagery necessary to traverse an androgynous plane. Entering a space of such alterity brings with it a new set of anxieties. Mandy is spit out as the child spits out that which was once a part of itself when it attempts to set up boundaries between that which was once inside and is now out. When Hermione finds a replacement image for the mother, race and class hierarchies are reinstituted to establish that "moi," a self-image that doesn't exist for Hermione within the Lacanian "he" and "she" of language. The narrator identifies with Fayne Rabb (Frances Gregg) who stars in the play Pygmalion. Fayne is dressed like a "boy in a tunic" yet is still a "girl." In her Hermione finds, in her words, a "mirror," the conflation of two genders in one image. Yet the vision of completion occurs in relationship to a denigrated blackness, a blackness once integral to seeing, to reflecting oneself, now abnegated in lieu of Fayne.

Fayne stands immediately in front of what Hermione considers a "negroid sort of art-picture of a woman on a sea shell" (138), a picture Hermione considers lower than her own aesthetic sensibility:

[It was] a rather dumpy form of the upstanding dumpy woman who was too white, like cheap mother-of-pearl handles to little showy cheap knives, like the mother-of-pearl top to a workbox Mandy had, that Mandy loved--that sort of thing's all right for Mandy. (136)

The statue she had become within Mandy's vision--so white like Mandy's "too white" miniature statue--is now spit out and replaced. Hermione rejects the one who imaginatively birthed her, a spitting out of her own self image along with the mother, an act of abjection that Kristeva notes is "violent, clumsy . . . with the constant risk of falling back under the sway of [the mother's] power" (13). Fayne literally replaces the mythic mirror Mandy offered--she is Pygmalion reincarnated, not what now has become a cheapened Venus de Milo plastic woman, the type Blacks (the lower class) would enjoy according to Hermione's perceptions.

H.D. taps into the larger circulating mirror in which Blacks are the abject; as Iris Marion Young suggests, racism may be structured by abjection. Certain groups are defined by a body aesthetic "that defines some groups as ugly and fearsome" (145). In this new subject position, Hermione feels everything is in its "right perspective." The narrator writes, "Art was the discriminating and selecting and bringing odd distorted images into right perspective.

There was good art, there was bad art" (139). As Aldon Lynn Nielson notes, "[N]o matter how effectively H.D. pillories the prejudices which surround Her[mione] in her youth, there is no doubt that Mandy occupies a space of lesser aesthetic sensibility" (87). She adopts a register much like her father's "mathematical-biological definition" of eugenics even though she fails to see the similarity. Hermione comments, "[Men can't] play this game, for art was what science wasn't" (139). Hermione adopts a language which will move beyond the constraints of gender by embracing androgyny, yet as the Fayne/Mandy contrast suggests, is supportive of hierarchies of race and class.

Staging Cultural Revisions: White (Nordic) Statues, Dark Immigrant Bodies

H.D.'s fascination with white Grecian statues finds voice within all three works of the trilogy which replay the same scenes, often from different perspectives or with varying focuses on certain characters. In Hermione and Asphodel, both closely related texts with the same character names, her statues function metaphorically as a replacement for that purified whiteness the eugenicists were so anxious to honor. While Cassandra Laity locates H.D.'s white statues--so prevalent in her work--with the Victorian Decadent Aesthetes' homoerotic worship of Greek male statuary, I'd offer another context, namely the eugenic

anxieties about race which metamorphosed into the worship of the white classical body.¹¹

As noted in Chapter 1, Grant, among several other eugenicists, made the case that the Greek states were Nordic, a Nordicism typified in Alexander "with his Nordic features, aquiline nose, gently curling yellow hair" (147). While the Greek empire dissolved, he argued, one still finds "among the pure Nordics of Anglo-Norman type . . . those smooth and regular classic features, especially the brow and nose lines, that were the delight of the sculptors of Hellas" (147). Popular sociologist Alfred E. Wiggam, as also mentioned, supported Grant, arguing that Nordics were of the "Greek type"; Nordics have a "delicately modeled face, with the eyes fairly close together, the nose thin, straight and beautifully chiseled . . . the cheek-bones subdued and flowing down with fine contour toward the mouth and the lower part of the face" (265). Such images found their way into the popular literature of the time. F. Scott Fitzgerald, in The Beautiful and the Damned (1922), describes his heroine Gloria Gilbert as a "Nordic Ganymede"; she comes to life from another time period, her features "completely classical, almost cold" (58).

While living in London, H.D. may have become aware of such representations through Pound. He argued in "Patria

¹¹ See, in particular, "Writing the Decadent Boy Androgyne" in Laity's H.D. and the Victorian Fin De Siecle: Gender, Modernism, Decadence (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1996) 63-83.

Mia" in 1912 that among British women, "the Greek Pantheon represented the general type"; he mentions "Ceres" as the ideal type, the "type recognized by the Eugenic Society," a reference to the Eugenic Society of London.¹² Such cross-national references to the Greek "type" make clear the intercontinental flavor of science. As H.D.'s eugenicist friend Havelock Ellis noted in a review which supported Lothrop Stoddard's The Rising Tide of Color, the "Nordic standpoint" favored the idea that Nordics were "an early offshoot of the Mediterranean people" (15). While an "early offshoot," Nordics presumably had no relation to the current arrivals from that region according to eugenicists; they imaginatively descended from the classical Greeks, ironically bypassing any current relations.

To place H.D.'s statues in such a context is not to erase their classical heritage but rather to suggest that her statues also emerged alongside a history of imagery of Grecian statuary which posed the white body as an icon of transcendence in terms of race. Eugenicists viewed the Nordic classical body as an icon of perfection which had survived the ravages of time, untouched by history, a figure which existed across centuries despite the carnage of World War I. It stood in contrast to the teeming immigrant masses whose bodies were depicted in the popular press at misshapen

¹² Rpt. in Pound's Patria Mia (Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1950) 56.

and deformed, small and swarthy, unlike the Nordic who rose above the crowd. In the June 14, 1924 issue of The Literary Digest, one writer summarized popular sentiments in "The Nordic and Other People": Nordics were "tall, long-headed blue-eyed whites" who towered over the "stubby Alpines" and "swarthy Mediterraneans" (23). According to Burton Hendrik in an article in the February 1923 issue of The Reader's Digest, the new immigrants are an "exotic mass" with "hollow chests . . . [u]ndeveloped bodies" who have been dumped by steamships on American shores (757).

While H.D. lived overseas after 1911, coming back to visit the United States in 1920, she certainly would have been exposed to such rhetoric even in London (Friedman, PW 221-22). Pound wrote about the "turmoil of yids, letts, finns, esthonians, cravats [sic] . . . sweeping along Eighth Avenue [New York]" for the literary magazine popular among her contemporaries, The Little Review (a magazine both H.D. and her husband published within). He described "their vigorous unwashed animality [that] will not help us. They are the America of tomorrow" ("Imaginary Letters" 20). For The New Age, he expressed his concerns about London where such new immigrants also were settling: "And if one were to prophesy the future 'type' from the seeing of London alone one would say: The future Briton will have the large buttocks of the Jew, the curious out-turning feet" ("Through Alien Eyes III" 300-301). The Briton here, a Nordic type,

according to eugenic logic, figures for Pound as a "fine robust, old Tory gentleman with a stake in the country" (302). He is an "imperialist," like the Nordic conqueror who starts in his homeland and moves out to vanquish the world.

In Hermione, even though H.D.'s narrator denigrates eugenic rhetoric in her portrayal of a nation ruled by "Uncle Sam, Carl-Bertrand-Gart God," she still seeks some distant homeland that carries racial valences as if she were reaching back for some purified nameable European ancestor who could help her claim an identity. She sees herself and her brother as "Nordic cranes flown in from Nordic centres" (6). She imagines owning a "Nordic wolfhound,"

a mythical wolfhound . . . that would race ahead of her while breakers drew up, drew back . . . Another country called her, the only thing that would heal, that would blot out this concentric gelatinous substances that was her perception of trees grown closer. (6-7)

The "Nordic wolfhound" suggests a desire for a Nordic center, a Nordic moment purified before the family was blighted by the oppressive masculinism of "trees grown closer." She "wanted to see through reaches of sea-wall, push on through transparencies" to another place, another country, yet finding this Nordic center fails her as an imaginative answer: "Europe existed as static little pictures . . . Her Gart wanted a nobler affinity. She did not know what it was she wanted" (7).

The "nobler affinity" is a revision of the masculinist Nordicism of eugenicists, a worshipped androgynous white statuary explored in both Hermione and Asphodel. In each text, we see the same androgyne, who functions as a point of identification for Hermione, juxtaposed against darkened others as a means of solidifying subjective boundaries. A type of transposed eugenics helps Hermione create what scientific discourse cannot, help define the limits of an amorphous identity, one which borders on the edge of dissolution given the lack of representation for it within the Symbolic Order.

In the same Pygmalion scene in Asphodel, Hermione sees Fayne and comments, "I don't want to be . . . a boy. Nor do I want you to so be. I don't feel a girl" (53). Such an abandonment of gendered subject positions coincides with a loss of subject/object delineations between Fayne and Hermione; Hermione writes, "I, Hermione, tell you I love you Fayne Rabb. . . . I love you Hermione, you Fayne" (53). Names interchange so that loving Fayne becomes loving the self, dissolving, it would seem, into one identity. As Friedman notes, Hermione, "rejecting Oedipal love, returns to the fusion of the pre-Oedipal in her love for Fayne, to the merged identities of two women" (PW 116). The anxiety produced from merged identities and lost gender definitions is allayed, it seems, by reference to the statuesque, to visions of bodies shaped in statues with firm fixed borders.

Hermione writes in Hermione, "Mythopoeic mind (mine) will disprove science and biological-mathematical definition" (76).¹³ Mythic statues or Greek figures--like Pygmalion--will replace the mathematics and science of identity shrouded in patriarchal weight. Hermione continues, "[T]here is hope in a block of substantiate marble, words could carve and set up solid altars" (Hermione 76). The imaginative marble allows her to fix and create an identity which, without the heterosexual "road map" of definably roles and borders, could dissolve, threatening to send Hermione to the edge of psychic dissolution, back into terror of an undifferentiated "moi," a return to the Kristevan Mother, exhilarating yet horrifying.

To create this new space, Hermione relies on the image of whiteness, a color which signifies both clarity and purity. In her lesbian-coded relationship with Fayne, Hermione and Fayne glorify each other in their whiteness. As "[p]rophetess to prophetess on some Delphic headland," Hermione presses her hands on Fayne's eyes; for Fayne her hands are "white stars" with "dynamic white power" (Hermione 180). Other images, while not Greek, speak to enclosed lines coming out of a dark place, as if Fayne, rising out of a dark green pool, now has reached a "white" place of

¹³ Cassandra Laity also quotes this sentence, connecting it with Hermione's assumption of a lesbian identity. I agree with her but also feel that the white images point to a "white" identity in the larger context of H.D.'s 1920s corpus. See Laity, "H.D. and A.C. Swinburne" 478.

clarity, of distinction from Hermione. Earlier, when Hermione abandons George in favor of Fayne, she emerges as "Lily. White out of darkness" (Hermione 165). In Asphodel, Fayne rises "somewhere in the dark street, to rise a white star, a white folded lily. Her dress wound about her stern small figure like lily leaves, a lily-bud still budded" (87), an image reminiscent of the Greek marble statue the narrator sees in the Louvre in Paint It Today which H.D. compares to the "fresh, not-quite-opened spikes of lily of the valley" (64). Hermione earlier admires Fayne in her "white robe" which "made the right marble lines and the arrogant full but firm little breasts and the line that the dress brought out of the perfect narrow hips" (emphasis mine; 86).

H.D. invokes the image of "classical body," a body Mikhail Bakhtin describes in the work of Rabelais as denoting the inherent form of high official culture during the French Renaissance--mounted on a pedestal, singled out for admiration from below, representative of some type of universal, epic time. This body has no open orifices, no signature of any connection with the physical world which would mark the body as never finished, as forever growing and metamorphosing, consuming and emitting, connected with the physical processes of birth and death. Like the Nordic body which existed for eugenicists as a transcendental signifier, surviving all wars, all time, H.D.'s classical

bodies are removed from their immediate temporality, a point which becomes clear when Hermione compares her vision of herself as a statue to that of George and immigrant body.

Hermione figures George as a "rankly gross little organ monkey with his wrong velvet jacket." He is "somewhere in the dark street" from which Fayne rises like "a white star" (Asphodel 87). In his dirtiness and deformity, George becomes a member of Bakhtin's distorted masses, much like the street crowd Hermione describes outside of her London window--"a crowd of gargoylesque, Rabelaisian peasants" (14). In addition, H.D. locates the incoming immigrants as grotesque, separate from Hermione's own godheads. When George names her as an Italian pieta, Hermione considers the Madonna as a possibility for identification, yet rejects its immigrant associations:

George Lowndes said I would look like Maria Della something or other, he was always rubbing in his filthy old Italians. Italians crowded the steerage of rotten second class boats . . . but they aren't the same. Something tells me . . . that in Italy the mother of God is different. (13)

Eugenicists considered Italians, like the Greeks of H.D.'s pantheons, "Mediterraneans," a race depicted as short and dark, crowded in disordered dirty hovels, diseased.

Hermione abrogates the immigrant classes to an order distinct from the elevated one she is creating; immigrants' bodies crowded in steerages, confined in lower spaces--so close, one imagines, they are undifferentiated--contrast with pristine contained bodies, singular and elevated for

admiration (the "mother of God"). Like Bakhtin's concept of the grotesque body--dirty and deformed, linked with other bodies in an unending cycles of life--H.D.'s immigrant bodies are "filthy" and in mass, separate from the worshipped statue.

Her attitudes, in fact, reflect a continuing revaluation of things classic. Calvin Coolidge, who argued strongly for immigration restriction for Mediterranean countries and the preservation of the Nordic race, simultaneously argued for increased education in classical studies. "Modern civilization dates from Greece and Rome," Coolidge told the annual meeting of the American Classical League at the University of Pennsylvania in 1921 (47). As Greece and Rome had been "the inheritors of a civilization which had gone before" (47), America was now their "inheritors"; classical knowledge was integral to becoming "supremely American" (56). For H.D. Greek and Italian statuary, however, did not represent "America." Before her departure to England, she considered America to be home to the stifling definitions of gender imposed within her family figured through paternalist eugenic metaphors. As she distanced herself from the nation, traveling overseas, she figured America not as a site of repression but of disordered eugenic chaos. The Italian "mother of God" is located in Europe while the hordes are imaginatively placed on distant American shores.

While visiting a church in France with Fayne and her mother, Fayne questions Hermione about her own involvement in the Philadelphia mission at home. Hermione responds,

I taught some filthy children . . . I got sick with them, disgusted . . . their voices, the impossibility of doing anything . . . I took them roses . . . I could never get, borrow or steal enough. There was one filthy brat with its nose running . . . There was always one filthy one, a girl or a boy. They were all the same. (They were the immigrant class). What's the use of art and art and Beauty when there's one filthy brat with a running nose that you hate anyway who cringes at you and leaves finger marks on your summer clothes. . . . With a filthy face and as like as not some hideous inherited affliction.

(Asphodel 12)

Hermione's desire for "art and art and Beauty" again invokes the eugenic desire to erect an unblemished male statuary, a classical Nordic body against which immigrant bodies could only pale in comparison, dark and dwarfed, grotesque and proliferating. Hermione longs for an image above and beyond the crowds, available for contemplation. She is horrified by the immigrant filth which trespasses onto the borders of her body--they "leave finger marks on your summer clothes"--and she feels repulsed by their "scabs" and "runny noses," visual reminders of the permeability of bodily membranes which threaten to erase the difference between her body and theirs.

Hermione recalls the concept that immigrants carried "inherited affliction[s]"; they had arrived to pollute the nation with their diseases, a point reminiscent of the 1903 and 1907 legislation limiting the arrival of diseased

newcomers and the practices of the medical immigration officer L.E. Cofer who ordered his officers to place chalk marks on new immigrants on the basis of nationality, a marker presumably of inherited disease (38). In 1922, the superintendent of the Eugenics Record Office Harry H. Laughlin traveled to Washington, D. C. to plaster pictures of Ellis Islanders across the walls of the Congressional hearing room. He titled his exhibit "Carriers of the Germ Plasm of the Future American Population" (Kevles 103). His testimony on the "biological" side of the immigration question (new immigrants were mentally diseased) helped convince Congress to pass the 1924 Immigration Act, lowering the rate of new immigrants entering the country from 70.8% in 1910 to 12.40% of the total that year (Wang 2, 104).

Reconfiguring Racial Hierarchies

In her earliest work, Paint It Today, H.D. responds to racial discourse in a way that brings insight into the difficulties of eradicating race as a signifier of identity. While in her later texts she plays with race as a way of managing the anxiety of bisexuality, damning those others who had already been inscribed in the lower orders according to a patriarchal eugenic epistemology, in this short work, H.D. treats race in such a way that makes clear the loss which occurs with the maintenance of hierarchies, namely that of interconnection. Caught between an isolated lesbian

self-identity and semiotic terror, her narrator attempts to straddle the two polarities to find that space in between that would allow connection without dissolution, heterogeneity without the chaos of the abandonment of self-differentiation. She resolves this tension momentarily by posing many races as signifiers for one body.

In Paint It Today, the H.D. figure, named Midget, initially deploys statuesque/grotesque dichotomies in the image of a female statue who contrasts with a "muddied" American group who threatens to absorb her into their midst. Basil (alias Richard Aldington, H.D.'s husband during World War I) names her "Sister of Charmides." Midget writes, "Charmides, it seems was a youth in Greece, who fell in love with a statue" (59). Basil reads her the Oscar Wilde poem "Charmides" in which, Cassandra Laity argues, "'[S]tatue-love' encodes transgressive (homoerotic) desire" (Note 41, PIT 94). Midget indeed does not feel "as he [Basil] wanted her to feel, with warmth and depth and warm intensity" (59). Instead she feels cold, reserving her warmth for statues. In the Louvre with Basil, she eyes the statue of Venus de Milo, "seeing the white woman with other eyes than those of the fugitive, hurried tourists, ever circling like a black whirlpool" (60). These tourists, Americans, are "caught in a river" by a "small, threatened sandbank." The "lady" stands "unconscious of the muddy stream about her, seeming to bend forward as if about to fall" (60). While the

tourists examine "with far more interest the fragment of lost arm and the bit of drapery and the hand broken," Midget sees her body as whole and complete; she is caught in an erotic trance in which she seeks pleasure from the lingering illicit gaze of woman to woman: "She dared not follow the curve of the white belly and short space before the breasts brought the curve to a sudden shadow" (60). She experiences the Americans around her as loathsome: "She hated the tribe about the pedestal" (60).

Yet Midget's disgust with the tribe is mitigated by her own desire to be a part of it. She imagines that with other statues, Venus might come to life (along with the narrator and her lover) and step off her pedestal, abandoning her classical stance to become one of the crowd. This moment speaks to a shift from a rejection of the classical (aligned with Nordic bodies) to a greater celebration of the grotesque, of the "filthy" Italian "brats" who once touched her clothes with their dirty fingers. The narrator imagines how

the ragged children would come trooping, rats from rats' burrows, and how from Rome and Naples white and bronze feet would step from white and bronze pedestals and steps of thrones, and we would all shout at the incongruity of us all, you [Venus] and I and my lover and the ragged children and white Aphrodite and bronze Hermes and a Pan or two . . . (61)

Midget's longs for the statues "white" and "bronze" to step down off their "thrones," to join in "shout[ing] at the incongruity of us all," a passage which suggests an emerging

pleasure in heterogeneity, where all bodies traipse freely around, not bound by thrones. Midget's image of the statues has switched from white only to white and bronze, a point which highlights a more plural racial stance; Mandy of Hermione was "bronze," an image repeated in H.D.'s stories and poems about Paul Robeson (for example in the story "Two Americans" or the poem "Red Roses for Bronze"). This movement into an acceptance of multiplicity, however, is bracketed by a desire for the statues to rid the area of the children, the "rats," reminiscent of immigrant "brats" of Asphodel; she wants the statues to "divert the children and take them, more or less off our hands and more or less out of the way" (61). Her fantasies exist in tension between an isolated lesbian whiteness, expressed in a homo-erotic gaze for the Venus figure, and a integrated non-separatist existence which accepts the differences (and likenesses) between all.

Paint It Today's narrator, an "I now" who reflects back on Midget, or her "I then," contemplates that Midget became fascinated with statues because she had "lived before the black cloud fell" (63). The "black cloud," World War I (also characterized as the "dark wall"), became the stimulus for Midget's visits to the "White Gallery" where she might contemplate the statues until "the present was swept away like the scum on a muddy river and she was looking into the past or into the future" (63). The statues provide for her

the same function the Nordic body provided the eugenicists-- a way to escape the "present" destruction of bodies by focusing on the continuation or reification of white bodies as monuments untouched by time or history. Midget's "muddy river" or the war-torn bodies of the present is reminiscent of the "muddy stream" which flows around the statues (Americans--the hated "tribe"). Fear of heterogeneity--of the multitudes--is linked to the destruction of bodies, an association which suggests a fear of the grotesque, the breaking of bodily borders or boundaries, an act reflective of torn or denigrated subjectivities. Midget's desire for the statues to step down off their pedestals and her reconfigurations of them as "white" and "bronze" (instead of only "white") suggest a desire to rework dichotomies, to find a means for tolerating incongruity in ways which do not split the subject from its surroundings, creating hierarchies governed by race or nation.

The narrator will attain this goal to a certain extent in her reconfiguration of statues and subsequent revision of "America" after the Great War. In this text, the War stimulated an acceptance of both the breakdown of social barriers between classes and races which coincided with an acceptance of corporeality, of materialities of the body in the throes of life and death. Visiting in Rome she finds a statue of Hermaphrodite, one she, before the war, had found "forced and artificial, a wax rose, . . . without reality or

meaning" (65). Now she sees same figure differently--it was the "same Hermaphroditus, but no little monster" . . . but rather "a gentle breathing image, modeling in strange, soft, honey-colored stone. The small head lay on the perfect childlike arm. It was a child, here in Rome, no monster." This was no "wax rose," but is rather the "spray of honey flower caught in the shadow of a dark wall" (65). This "dark wall," the war, influences her reevaluation of the statue and anticipates her reevaluation of "America," the "tribe," the immigrant "hordes" as something different.

The narrator realizes that the Great War broke down boundaries between the social classes in Europe; she celebrates both the breakdown and the remnants of these walls as only, she claims, an "American" might:

No one but an American (I boast it) can realize the beauty and the joy of all this interflow and interchange and curious little walls of prejudice and curious little bulwarks of protection between each little class of each distinctive little walk of life. (68)

Her reevaluation of a statue marked by a loss of divisions--in Hermaphrodite male and female integrate just as the idealized whiteness of her statues becomes muted in her adoration of the "honey-colored stone"--reflects a larger consciousness in which "interflow and interchange" between formerly divided social classes is celebrated. Simultaneously she clings to the "curious little walls of prejudice and curious little bulwarks of protection." Her idealization of the statue--with its "perfect childlike

arm"--vacillates with her visualization of its lifelike qualities, its "breathing": "It lay comfortably asleep. Midget stood looking, almost afraid to move closer" (65). Borders between life and death are mitigated, a blurring which suggests a greater tolerance for bodies as part of the cyclical arena of life, or as Bakhtin suggests, immersed in cycles of pregnancy and death, cycles which bind people together physically (literally within each other in the birthing process) and materially (returning all to the material earth). With a tolerance for the "grotesque" state of the human body comes a willingness to visualize "interflow and interchange" between social classes in a positive light.

As the text ends, the narrator rejoices in the birth of a daughter, one she does not visualize as white but rather, like the infant Hermaphrodite "honey" or rather "amber," a muted color accented by a range of racial signifiers: "A small amber-colored being crept into Midget's life, a creature unbelievable . . . A creature, white as a camellia, amber as a honeybee, black as a gypsy's baby" (89). The narrator must reassure herself that the baby exists: "I have seen with my own eyes the creature" (89). The text ends with this vision alongside the narrator's desire for her "white Althea," her lover who moves in and out of present time, in and out of a Grecian world, inanimate yet living; she narrates, "Althea was not like a statue, not like a

statue in a museum, that is[,] yet she is like Artemis, "the deity, the goddess with shaft and bow, standing in bronze in the center of the sword" (82, 87). Again, one sees the dual desire for fixed permanent sealed bodies and animation alongside a blending of racial signification-- "white Althea" seems actually "bronze." The narrator works to integrate that which has been formally cast out yet does so in a way that insists on a statuesque form, mitigated only by the breathing child who also, however, resembles the statue of the infant Hermaphrodite.

Midget's alternating positions between marking differences hierarchically to celebrating difference speak to the psychic tension between interconnection and separation, what Kristeva would argue, finally informs the tension between the whole body and the abjected, between being sealed and being without boundaries, for H.D., a necessary tension between fixed subjectivities and the chaos necessary for interconnection. Her text makes clear that for eugenicists to abandon their insistence on racial hierarchies, on classical and grotesque, Nordic and immigrant dichotomies, they must leave behind their desire for a sealed bounded body, fixed throughout time and accept the materiality of bodies and the unending processes of life and death. The carnage of World War I then needs not be sutured imaginatively through the creation of a transcendent

Nordic male body, descended from Grecian times, but accepted as a moment when death exists in conjunction with new life.

H.D.'s prose works finally offer insights into the troubled relationship between body image, race and gender. Race remains a stagnant and persistent signifier of social hierarchies because of anxieties over the loss of physical boundaries, a fear ameliorated through the representation of bodies as raced and gendered. Disrupting such categories is deeply connected to addressing the terror over subjective loss and the basic vulnerability of physical existence, as evidenced in the eugenic reaction to the destruction of white male bodies during World War I. Finding alternative means of managing fear over boundary loss remains the key--that and the continued displacement of negative images of raced bodies with more positive representations so that hierarchies and stratifications can be erased and multiplicity celebrated.

CHAPTER 5
F. SCOTT FITZGERALD, EUGENICS, AND RACE NOSTALGIA

Dismembered Bodies and a Lost White America

"The idea is that we're Nordics. I am, and you are, and you are and . . . we've produced all the things that go to make civilization--oh, science and art, and all that." (9)

Tom Buchanan

The Great Gatsby (1925)

In the 1920s, F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote a range of novels and short stories focusing on issues of race, class and gender identity. Unlike Hemingway and H.D., Fitzgerald had no direct experience of the war, and likewise, in his fiction, we find no direct dismemberment or destruction of bodies linked to this historical moment. Yet his images of death, of bodily deterioration or dismemberment, intersect with a desire to locate a body whose markers of race and class are fixed. His work suggests that not only the fear of death in wartime, but also the fear of death in peacetime, finds resolution in racial fantasies of unchanging bodies, as the fear of merging finds respite in a fantasy of physical continuity and sameness.

Like his two modernist counterparts, Fitzgerald was intrigued by images of grotesque immigrants and classical Nordics. Even though he satirizes eugenics, he carefully details the parameters of Nordic statuesque bodies and the

grotesque nature of immigrant bodies in ways which suggest anxieties about the replacement of Nordics with immigrants, a fear equated with moments of physical deterioration or death. We see this concern expressed in the death of Dick Humbird of This Side of Paradise (1920), the physical decay of Amory Blaine in This Side of Paradise (1922) and the destruction of Myrtle Wilson in The Great Gatsby (1925). Fitzgerald recoils against such a dissolution of bodies by evoking a nostalgia for things past, what eugenicists figured as a Nordic past of sameness. While Hemingway transposed his desire for a eugenic fantasy to the classical form of Pedro Romero and H.D. fantasized about a "Nordic center," embodied in white classical androgynous statuary, Fitzgerald creates a nostalgia for a whitened landscape, one covered in memory not with ethnic others but with white bodies, a replica of the Nordic fantasy of a racially pure country. Fitzgerald's novels both lament the loss of a once (presumably) white nation and critique the forces that have destroyed that vision. Like the texts of eugenicists, his novels express a desire to retrieve a moment when identities could be securely linked to bodies so that a Lacanian moi or self-image could be firmly fixed to transcend the changes--economic, social and physical--that a multicultural history brings.

Fixed Bodies and Racial Nostalgia

In Fitzgerald's first novel This Side of Paradise (1920), eugenics figures as a vague wish for some kind of historical and bodily continuity. Unlike Hemingway who cast his males as war damaged and physically emasculated, Fitzgerald's males are less perturbed by a war they never attend. In this text, the principal protagonist Amory Blaine views it at its outbreak as "an amusing melodrama [which] he hoped . . . would be long and bloody" (54). Such an off-hand attitude towards the war shifts, however, when Amory enters training camp. Unlike eugenicists who labelled World War I as a "white Civil War," a Nordic catastrophe, Amory sees it as a war which attracts too many ethnic types already. The America he longs for is an America of the past, not a Nordic past per se but one imaginatively like it. He considers this idea on the train to boot camp:

When Amory went to Washington the next week-end he caught some of the spirit of the crisis which changed to repulsion in the Pullman car coming back, for the berths across from him were occupied by stinking aliens--Greeks he guessed, or Russians. He thought how much easier patriotism had been to a homogenous race, how much easier it would have been to fight as the Colonies fought, or as the Confederacy fought. And he did not sleep that night, but listened to the aliens guffaw and snore while they filled the car with heavy scent of the latest America. (147)

Matthew Gidley suggests that Amory "evinces a veneration for the 'racial purity' of the Confederacy which was shared by such figures as Thomas Dixon" (175). Amory also shares, one can argue, a desire for what eugenicists considered the

'racial purity' of the "colonies," a time Madison Grant argued was racially "homogenous" with 83.5 percent "purely English" and 93.8 percent "Nordic."¹ Amory can't seem to feel "patriotism" with an ethnic crowd, particularly of the detested Eastern and Southern European type; his concept of nation seems then firmly locked into prevailing attitudes about race. These "aliens" don't merely "stink" and "snore"; they belong to another "race," a race presumably closer to the earth physically, with their bodily smells, filth and (possible) sweat, and sounds of sleeping (associated with the movement of air in and out, crossing the borders of the body), all calling attention to their grotesque state.

Fitzgerald portrays a desire to retain a homogenous nation again when Amory tries to uncover the physical parameters of leadership. While Grant wrote of the "specialized traits of the Nordic man; his stature, his light color eyes, his fair skin and blond hair, his straight nose, and his splendid fighting and moral qualities (Passing 82-83), Amory and his friends at Princeton scan yearbooks to figure out whether the class leaders have predominantly light hair. Amory comments to his friend Burne,

"I know you don't think much of that august body [the Senior Council], but it does represent success here

¹ Qtd. from "America for Americans," rpt. in Reader's Digest, September 1925, 368. While the article post-dates the writing of the text, Grant argued that the early colonies were Nordic as early as 1916 in The Passing of the Great Race.

in a general way. Well, I suppose only about thirty-five per cent of every class here are blonds, are really light--yet two thirds of every senior council are light. We looked at the pictures of ten years of them, mind you; that means that out of every fifteen light-haired men in the senior class one is on the senior council, and of the dark-haired men it's only one in fifty."

"It's true," Burne agreed. "The light-haired man is a higher type, generally speaking. I worked the thing out with the Presidents of the United States once, and found that way over half of them were light-haired--yet think of the preponderant number of brunettes in the race." (128-129)²

In 1920, two studies came out in The Journal of Heredity which attempted to correlate nose shape, hair and eye color of Nordic families with worldly achievement and power.³ The urge here seems to locate on the body some unchangeable fixed commodity which survives history, even if that history seems undisturbed by Grant's "white war." For Amory, it seems part and parcel of securing his class status in the world. He is fair haired, destined for the senior council yet is rejected when he doesn't study for an exam and fails his term.

Fitzgerald questions the security and validity of such beliefs when Amory, a man of strong bloodlines, a Nordic visage and high social status--the Blaines had "an enviable standing from Pasadena to Cape Cod" (6)--falls down. In

² Grant actually allowed for some inconsistencies in hair color, arguing that blond hair often turns brown as one ages.

³ Wilhelmine E. Key, "Better American Families---IV" (358-63) and A. E. Woods, "Heredity and the Hall of Fame" (445-52) in The Journal of Heredity, XI (November-December, 1920).

addition to his loss of prestige at Princeton, his inheritance diminishes such that the woman of his dreams won't marry him. He refuses to work because he can't immediately command a strong salary. His own shaky identity as an aristocrat is heightened by the larger uncertainties of living, namely the inability to control whether you live or die.

Fitzgerald links uncertainty about the permanence of bodies with class and racial loss. Amory's anxieties about the vulnerability and instability of the body as a signifier of identity crystallize when a friend of his, Dick Humbird, drives drunk and kills himself in an auto accident. Amory registers the death at first as a class loss. When he sees him lying dead on the road, he thinks,

The brow was cold . . . --oh, it [death] was so horrible and unaristocratic and close to the earth. All tragedy has that strain of the grotesque and squalid--so useless, futile . . . the way animals die . . . Amory was reminded of a cat that had lain horribly mangled in some alley of his childhood.
(87, ellipsis in the text)

Later, when Amory visits New York City, he imagines he is being chasing by Dick Humbird's ghost, manifested as a man marked by "incongruities" of body reflective of that of a new immigrant laborer. Amory describes his complexion as that of a man "who'd worked in a mine," a work place associated with new immigrants. High concentrations of such immigrants worked in the mines, a widely advertised fact, given the high number of strikes in Northern mining cities.

His palor is off; he has a "yellow" face. Amory experiences him as having feet all "wrong. . . with a sort of wrongness that he felt rather than knew" (113) (reminiscent of the boat loads of people who sociologist Edward Ross found "[i]n every face there was something wrong" [286])). He's afraid this character is chasing him down to kill him or that "something was pulling him down, trying to get him inside a door and slam it behind him" until he was just "one of the footfalls" in the night (115). Running for his life, he boards a train, only to find it "hot and stuffy with the smells of the state's alien population" (119). He opens up the train window and "shivered against the cold fog," to have the ghost's face appear before another window shortly thereafter. Amory's fears about his identity--about losing his aristocratic status--are hermeneutically linked to death and loss of Dick Humbird and likewise to the incoming "alien population."

The Bakhtinian concept of the grotesque seems apt here; the death of Dick which Amory finds so "grotesque" literally, is tied to his vision of a new immigrant man whose body is all "wrong." The need to fix identity as stable, and the body undergirding that identity, indicates a need to rescue it from its grotesque state so that the self-image or Lacanian moi are stable. The dead body--dead but alive and breathing, caught in a Bakhtinian grotesque state of living and dying--crosses the threshold between the two

worlds, sending Anthony into a state of panic. The new immigrants who populate trains and enter training camps for war take on an ominous presence, trying to turn Amory into a mere "footfall," evocative of the fears of eugenicists who felt such newcomers were slowing replacing Nordic bodies, their grotesque shape reminiscent of the materiality of the body, of all that isn't fixed in life.

The Rise of Jew, the Fall of the Nordic

In The Beautiful and the Damned, concerns about the nation, race, class and body are refracted through the figure of Anthony Patch, a descendant of Virginian aristocracy and Boston "society," definitely of the "old stock" as eugenicists viewed those whose bloodlines could be traced to early Northern European settlers. While Anthony begins the text as a representative of robust health, a strong physical specimen, his body gradually deteriorates in the presence of new immigrants. He is metaphorically replaced, it seems, by an immigrant other who turns from being abject to being strong and vibrant, an able participant in a capitalist economy. In addition to this eugenic terror, the central Nordic couple in the text never produces children and the Nordic woman is wooed by this new immigrant other. The Nordic male becomes dissipated while the new immigrant moves even closer to, as Grant feared, "tak[ing] his women" (Passing 18).

As the text opens, we learn that Anthony regards himself as a supreme physical specimen. He adopts the posture of a Tarzan figure after his bath: "Stripped, and adopting an athletic posture like the tiger-skin man in the advertisement, he regarded himself with some satisfaction in the mirror" (17). By others he is considered "handsome," "very clean in appearance and reality, with that especial cleanliness borrowed from beauty" (9). One is reminded here of the eugenic emphasis on beauty. Popular eugenicist Alfred Wiggam described Nordics as descendants with Grecian "beauty"--with a "delicately molded face, with the eyes fairly close together, the nose thin, straight and beautifully chiselled" (265) and blue or green eyes, an appearance which reflected inner intelligence. Anthony indeed has a "sharp" nose, "thin" features and "blue eyes" which are "alert with intelligence" (9).

His beauty is matched by that of his counterpart, his lover and later wife Gloria Gilbert. Fitzgerald describes her as a "Nordic Ganymede" (106). She carries Grecian characteristics as well, almost reincarnated from a previous age. In a short interjectory play segment, Fitzgerald stages a conversation between "Beauty" and "The Voice," a conversation that intimates that Gloria, the "beauty" of the text has arisen from some timeless past. As the stage directions indicate, Beauty "was to be born again" into a "new country--a land [she's] never seen before" (28),

removed from the "old lands, the land of grapes and soft-tongued men [,] the land of ships and seas" (28). When Anthony first meets Gloria, she is this Beauty figure, herself like a classical statue brought to life. He describes her thus: "On a photograph she must have been completely classical, almost cold--but the glow of her hair and cheeks, at once flushed and fragile, made her the most living person he had ever seen" (57-58). She has standard classical features: "an exquisite regularity of the nose and upper lip, the chin, faintly decided, balanced beautifully" (57). Her eyes have irises of the "most delicate and transparent bluish white," and she has "yellow ripples of hair" (61). Such features reflect an inner intelligence and verve. She typifies the standard eugenic emphasis on the Nordics as classical Greeks reincarnated; she has a Bakhtinian classical body which has transcended the ages.

The classical bodies of both characters stand isolated and apart from the immigrant hordes who crowd the streets of New York City. As Anthony walks through urban areas, the narrator comments how "faces swirled about him, a kaleidoscope of girls, ugly, ugly as sin--too fat, too lean," girls who are pictured alongside "Jewish men . . . talking in loud voices and craning their necks here and there in fatuous supercilious glances" (25). According to his friend Richard Caramel who has worked in the slums, "The aliens kept coming inexhaustibly--Italians, Poles, Czechs,

Armenians--with the same wrongs, the same exceptionally ugly faces and very much the same smells" (75). Embodying Bakhtin's concept of the grotesque, these new immigrants are all deformed, reminiscent of popular eugenicist Alfred Wiggam's "ugly and stupid" women (274) or Edward Ross's "crooked faces, coarse mouths, bad noses, heavy jaws and low foreheads" (287). They smell, like Amory's stinking aliens of the trains in This Side of Paradise. The narrator refers to them as the "debris of Europe" as if the newcomers were waste or excrement, something pushed out of a body and left on American shores, abjected from their homelands only to remain the waste of the New World.

Fitzgerald brackets Anthony's downfall with his exposure to these immigrants both in the city and his personal life. During his courtship with Gloria, his primary rival is a Jewish man, Joseph Bloeckman, whose presence in the text signifies a central eugenic fear--miscegenation. Like Robert Cohn of Hemingway's The Sun Also Rises who courts and momentarily wins the Nordic woman's affections from that of Jake Barnes, Bloeckman (as he is called in the text) gains Gloria's affections momentarily in his rivalry with Anthony. Unlike Cohn who came from old wealth and a well-established Jewish New York family, Bloeckman is a recent immigrant with a past narrated satirically as an ethnic rags to riches story:

Born in Munich, he had begun his American career as a peanut vendor with a travelling circus. At eighteen he

was a side show ballyhoo; later, the manager of the side show, and, soon after, the proprietor of a second-class vaudeville house. Just when the moving picture had passed out of the stage of a curiosity and become a promising industry he was an ambitious young man. . . . The moving picture industry had borne him up with it . . . and now he sat here and contemplated the immortal Gloria--watch[ing] her, [knowing] that presently she would cease dancing [with Anthony] and come back to sit on his left hand. (97)

Rising industry bears the immigrant forward, increasing his class status so that he can now date the beautiful Nordic. Such industry destabilizes class lines making ethnic mixing possible. Gloria dates Bloeckman as the same time as she dates Anthony. She considers marriage to him even though she finally marries Anthony.

Fitzgerald frames Bloeckman's rise as that of a new immigrant by comparing him in the conversation of Anthony and Gloria to the incoming Jews. The couple reflect on Gloria's narrow escape from Bloeckman's arms as they stroll down the street of a city slum:

[H]e read a dozen Jewish names on a line of stores; in the door of each stood a dark little man watching the passers from intent eyes--eyes gleaming with suspicion, with pride, with clarity, with cupidity, with comprehension. New York--he could not dissociate it now from the slow, upward creep of this people . . .

Gloria's voice broke in with strange appropriateness upon his thoughts.

"I wonder where Bloeckman's been this summer."

(283)

Fitzgerald links Bloeckman's physical body with that of new immigrants. The narrator describes him as a "stoutening, ruddy Jew of about thirty-five" (93). To Anthony, he is "[b]oiled looking! Ought to be shoved back in

the oven" (94). Instead of being statuesque and white, he is round and red, Anthony's description intones, something more akin to food than humanity. He most likely has an extended stomach with his "stout" figure, a Bakhtinian "belly," a physical marker suggestive of the process of ingesting, calling attention to the body's materiality.

Yet despite such corporal markers, he has, according to a rather critical narrator, assumed the manners of those around him at the dinner party: "His expression combined that of a Middle Western farmer appraising his wheat crop and that of an actor wondering whether he is observed--the public manner of all good Americans" (94). Bloeckman assumes the air of someone who knows much about the meaning of the word "American." He recognizes Anthony as a grandson of Adam Patch, a millionaire and a former officer in the Civil War; about him Bloeckman comments, "He's a fine example of an American" (94). Anthony, the man with blue blood lines, is being challenged here by another who assumes American manners, knowledge of American bloodlines, and a keen understanding of American industry. While lacking the descent himself, he moves forward in the text to become a man of wealth and social standing, a movement mirrored by his physical transformation and Anthony's deterioration on the physical, emotional and financial plane.

Anthony's downfall is couched within material and moral terms. He is expecting an inheritance from his grandfather

and when Adam Patch, a strong supporter of prohibition, stumbles across a drinking party at Anthony's house, he removes Anthony from his will. Anthony's financial collapse, however, is equally predicated upon his inability to work and his (and Gloria's) desire to own nice clothes and live decadently. He never can bring himself to get a job. He resorts to endless drinking bouts as the funds dry up. As Lothrop Stoddard noted in The Rising Tide of Color, the downfall of the Nordic was due in part to his "materialism" and lack of "moralism" which grew with the increase in industrialization and contributed to a lack of reproduction in Nordic upper class families (158). Madison Grant argued that the Nordic race declined in part because of Nordics' inherent tendencies towards alcoholism. Anthony's downfall has many reasons. Fitzgerald frames it with Bloeckman's rise which adds a certain eugenic paranoia to the text, reflective of the predicted decline of the Nordic.

Anthony and Bloeckman essentially imaginatively exchange places in the text. While Bloeckman has risen from his poor beginnings, Gloria and Anthony now sink in squalor. A friend named Muriel compares the couple to "people in the slums." Anthony chastises Muriel, "[Y]ou mustn't talk like a lady slum worker even if you are visiting the lower middle classes" (407). A woman observing Gloria sees her as "unclean," as if she is now the dirtied one, the slovenly

new immigrant. In contrast, Bloeckman has gained in wealth and worldly prestige.

Anthony and Bloeckman also now have different body types, Anthony's bordering on the grotesque and Bloeckman's becoming nearly classical. Anthony's physical collapse combines with a shift in class status. Anthony's mark of Nordicism--his intelligent blue eyes are now "blood-shot . . . eyes that were once been a deep clear blue, that were weak now, strained and half-ruined" (407). His once glowing cheeks are now "pale cheeks, paler still under two days' growth of beard," a picture of bearded Bolshevism as the press imagined it (408). Unlike the fit Nordic who conquered nations, Anthony has "the stooped and flabby figure whose very sag was a document in lethargy. He was thirty-three--he looked forty" (444); his body carries valences of the Bakhtinian grotesque with what we can assume to be a drooping stomach. His changing body form coincides with a change in class. He is now lower class. He comments, "I hate people who claim to be great aristocrats when they can't even keep up the appearances of it" (407) upon which Muriel argues that "if a person comes from a good family they're always nice people" (408). Muriel's version of events--a privileging of bloodlines (one is always an aristocrat if born one)--falls apart here as Anthony is now longer "nice" in his endless drunken stupor, constantly

insulting friends and his wife, disappearing for days on end in a stupor, banned from his previous drinking clubs.

For Bloeckman, his appearance and lifestyle continue to improve. He assumes more of a classical body as he gains confidence and prestige. He "took exercise every day" and is now a "well-conditioned man of forty-five" (437). His trim figure now mirrors his trim manner:

The process of general refinement was still in progress-- always he dressed a little better, his intonation was mellower, and in his manner there was perceptibly more assurance that the fine things of the world were his by a natural and inalienable right.

(305)

The unnatural "alien," as he would then be called, has naturalized himself. As the text nears a conclusion, Gloria goes to Bloeckman to ask for work in the motion pictures and finds a different man--"Bloeckman, a dark suave gentleman, gracefully engaged in the middle forties, who greeted her with courteous warmth" (397). He has changed his name to "Black," officially erasing his ethnicity and becoming an "American." The Jew replaces the Nordic, assuming even some of his physical characteristics of strength and weight. While not occupying a Bakhtinian statuesque place per se, he no longer is compared to those who mingle in crowded streets.

As text ends, the reversal is complete. Anthony, drunk, calls Bloeckman away from a business dinner at a fancy restaurant with the intent of asking for money since he has none, not even to eat. Anthony insults him, arguing

that Bloeckman failed to give his wife work, claiming "my wife want nothin' whatever do with you," a statement which suggests not only drunkenness but the broken English of an immigrant. He then adds, "[Y]ou leave her alone" as if Bloeckman still posed a romantic threat. He calls him a "Goddamn Jew," at which point, Bloeckman punches him three times until he falls on the floor (437). The restaurant people throw the "bum" out into the street at Bloeckman's request. Anthony is left "with his mouth full of blood" on the sidewalk with no taxi or money to get home and a missing front tooth. His broken and dishevelled body and physical placement (in the street) signify his final movement into a new immigrant position. In the text's final page, he is mad and wheelchair bound, another reminder of new immigrants whose presumably deformed minds and bodies placed them in institutional care, filling forty-four percent of New York City's mental hospitals (Davis 134). One wonders why Gloria does not marry the suave Bloeckman.

The rise of one and downfall of the other as metonymic signifier of the displacement of the old immigrant by the new is mirrored in the text by a second underlying plot which buttresses the theme of Nordic American decline. Richard Caramel has made his money by writing books, the most famous one called The Demon Lover about a "Don Juan of the slums" (141). He writes it a year after he has entered "the slums of New York to muck about with bewildered

Italians as secretary to an 'Alien Young Men's Rescue Association'" (74). The book is such a success that the public attention it garners overshadows the social importance of Anthony and Gloria's wedding: "'The Demon Lover' had been published in April, and it interrupted the love affair" (141); both Anthony and Gloria feel jealous. The significance of this moment seems clear when later we learn that the author has displayed his books on his shelves under the label "Americana" after exclaiming, "I've made an exhaustive collection of good American stuff, old and new" (422). The Demon Lover finds its place in between works of "Mark Twain and Dreiser." Because of that text, Caramel is advertised as the "Thackery of America" (423), a point that brings home the textual displacement of the romantic Nordic couple by a romance of new immigrants. Gloria and Anthony find that their spotlight fades rapidly, a marriage overshadowed by an immigrant presence that threatens to steal what it means, according to the text's terms, to be an American. Gloria is left without her beauty, reading stories about widows of the lost Confederacy (again a nostalgia for a homogenous racial moment, as in This Side of Paradise), while Anthony is reduced to his wheelchair existence. Grant's prediction that the Nordic "is to-day being literally driven off the streets of New York City by the swarms of . . . Jews" (in this case out of high class restaurants) is shown to be true in Fitzgerald's text.

Grant writes, "These new immigrants . . . steal his [native American] name" and, as mentioned earlier, "[T]hey are beginning to take his women" (Passing 81). While "in the city of New York, and elsewhere in the United States, there is a native American aristocracy resting upon layer after layer of immigrants of lower races," the reverse figuratively now seems to be the case (Grant, Passing 5).

"Civilization's Going to Pieces" so Let's Honor a Sacred
Past

In The Great Gatsby (1925), the same theme of the rise and decline of a Nordic civilization prevails. Fitzgerald contrasts the body of Nordic Tom Buchanan with the Jewish Meyer Wolfsheim in a way that mirrors eugenic contrasts of the Bakhtinian classical and grotesque. The differences in bodies is refracted through contrasts in the landscape, whether that be the valley of the ashes just outside of an ethnically changing New York City or the white snow covered racially unchanged Midwest of the past. In addition, Fitzgerald focuses on the grotesque body as indicative of the dissolution of class and race distinctions. Myrtle Wilson lies mutilated within an ethnically diverse textual intersection, one troubled by a negative immigrant presence and a number of what are portrayed as ruptures in hierarchies of class and ethnicity.

The reader finds an image of the classical body in the figure of Tom Buchanan, a man who spouts eugenic rhetoric.

The man is a physical caricature of Grant and Stoddard's Nordic; while Stoddard describes "the big, blond Nordic" in Rising Tide ready to dominate the world (154) and Grant writes lovingly of the "blond barbarian," Nick Carraway describes Tom as "straw-hair[ed]," possessing "a body capable of enormous leverage--a cruel body," one which communicates dominance and condescending authority:

not even the effeminate swank of his riding clothes could hide the enormous power of that body--he seemed to fill those glistening boots until he strained the top lacing, and you could see a great pack of muscle shifting when his shoulder moved under his thin coat.
(5)

Like an age old conqueror--what Daisy calls a "brute of a man, a great big, hulking physical specimen of a--" (8)--Tom's brutish body registers violence; he has the "appearance of always leaning aggressively forward" (5). Displaced to the polo fields of a Northeastern elite, Tom can no longer colonize a continent but can at least try to control and manage the boundaries of his own family and what Nick terms his "senior society," the cornerstones for him of "civilization."

Tom's physical shape reflects and mirrors his ideology. In a shared afternoon with Nick, Daisy Buchanan, and Jordan Baker, he proclaims, "Civilization's going to pieces. . . . I've gotten to be a terrible pessimist about things. Have you read 'The Rise of the Colored Empires' by this man Goddard?" (9). He continues,

"Well it's a fine book and everybody ought to read it. The idea is if we don't look out the white race will-- will be utterly submerged. It's all scientific stuff; it's been proved This fellow has worked out the whole thing. It's up to us, who are the dominant race to watch out or these other races will have control of things. . . . The idea is that we're Nordics. I am, and you are, and you are and . . . we've produced all the things that go to make civilization--oh, science and art, and all that." (9)

As Thomas Gossett first pointed out in 1963, Tom's ideas are an incantation of Stoddard's The Rising Tide of Color (1920). Like Stoddard, Tom argues that "civilization" is in decline, soon to be overturned by those fearsome "rising tides of color." Tom's words merge with those of Hendrik Willem Van Loon who invoked "civilization" in the May 1922 issue of Vanity Fair (Berman 20). With Europe in disarray after the war, Van Loon writes, "America has suddenly been called upon to carry forward the work of civilization . . . science and art and music and all the other great accomplishments of the human race" (Berman 20). Van Loon draws on the common eugenic comparison of America to ancient Rome which was presumably destroyed by immigration: "[U]nknown hordes from unknown parts of Asia and Eastern Europe broke through the barriers of Rome and instilled themselves amidst the ruins of the old Augustan cities." Similarly, current hordes are destroying the present America, "the latest shipment of released Ellis Islanders" who have come to "make a new home among the neglected residences of your own grandfathers and uncles" (Berman 20).

As in earlier Fitzgerald's texts, New York functions as the site of a new immigrant presence, seventy-five percent of whom settled in urban areas in 1920 (Wang 48). While Tom lives in an upper class area called East Egg, his homogenous social circle was already a bit of an anathema. In Collier's in July 1922, renowned White House journalist William Allen White summed up the sentiments for many when he wrote of "The moron majority which piles upon every great American city . . . creat[ing] the spawning ground of the thug, of the assassin" (4). Grant, a New Yorker, described how New York "is becoming a cloaca gentium which will produce many amazing racial hybrids and some ethnic horrors that will be beyond the powers of future anthropologists to unravel" (Passing 80).

Tom keeps himself educated by reading not only Stoddard but also The Saturday Evening Post which John Higham notes was, in 1920, "the most widely read magazine in the United States," one which "began to quote and urgently commend [Grant's] doctrines" (265). For Tom, keeping track of a Nordic identity means keeping his class boundaries firmly in place by assigning class outsiders racial identities, a strategy common to eugenicists who framed the incoming immigrants as belonging to a racially defined lower class. While certainly not a new immigrant, Jay Gatsby's lower class background and unknown biological ancestry make him a target for becoming marked as either new immigrant or Black.

Gatsby's rise in position and affair with Daisy, as Walter Benn Michaels notes, "seems to Tom the expression of something like the impulse to miscegenation" (195).⁴ He doesn't know how Gatsby "got within a mile of her unless [he] brought the groceries to the back door" (87). And he's not going to let "Mr. Nobody from Nowhere make love to [his] wife." Tom raves, "Nowadays people begin by sneering at family life and family institutions, and next they'll throw everything overboard and have intermarriage between black and white" (86). As Nick narrates, "[H]e saw himself standing alone on the last barrier of civilization," alone in what Tom describes as "the modern world" (86). Tom pictures himself as a Bakhtinian classical figure, as one above and beyond the masses to the extent that he felt it his right to command and control the tides of change.

Tom's near classical frame stands above the primary new immigrant figures of the text, portrayed by Nick in less than flattering ways. Meyer Wolfsheim is a "small, flat-nosed Jew" with a "large head," "tiny eyes," and "two fine growths of hair which luxuriated in either nostril" (46). Like the Jews of the streets of The Beautiful and the Damned, this immigrant (or new immigrant descendant) is somehow very physically wrong. His head is too big. He has

⁴ Peter Gregg Slater, to my knowledge, was the first to note Tom's fear of Gatsby as a fear of miscegenation. See "Ethnicity in The Great Gatsby," Twentieth Century Literature 19 (1973) 54.

too much hair (reminiscent of the popularized Bolshevik who dashed through cartoons with hair "luxuriat[ing]" from almost every part of this body) and "tiny eyes," a point which reinvokes the "eyes gleaming with suspicion," the eyes of Jewish shopkeepers in The Beautiful and the Damned who gaze out from their shops with "cupidity." He is "small," a commonly assigned characteristic of new immigrants; Kenneth Roberts, hired by the editor of The Saturday Evening Post to study the immigration problem, finds them "short" and "stubby" ("Guests" 130). His "wrong" body is related to Hemingway's Cohn of The Sun also Rises, a man whose large nose (hurt in a boxing match) draws extensive attention from a less-than-complimentary narrator.

Wolfsheim's near-grotesque body coincides with his criminal activity, a representational juncture widely reinforced about new immigrants in the press. Roberts found in the Post their "hopelessly inferior physique" ("Slow Poison" 8) was aligned with their nature--"[m]orally unfit . . . and politically subversive--such as active Bolsheviks and anarchists" ("Guests" 130).⁵ And James Laughlin reported to Congress in 1922, these new immigrants make up forty-four percent of the New York City custodial institutions which house "the insane, the criminals . . .

⁵ Fitzgerald may have been a wide reader of the magazine himself. The editor of The Post, a highly anti-immigrant writer Horace Lorimer, published more short stories of Fitzgerald than any other publisher at that time.

the deformed" (134),⁶ much like William Allen White's inner city ethnic "thugs and assassins" (4).

Nick portrays the misshapen Wolfsheim as occupying a dark inner-city underworld of gambling, bootlegging and murder; he has cufflinks made of "human molars," and he scans the area where he, Gatsby, and Nick eat lunch out of fear of being followed. Nick narrates, Wolfsheim's eyes "roved very slowly all around the room--he completed the arc by turning to inspect the people directly behind." Nick surmises that if he wasn't there, Wolfsheim would have taken "one short glance beneath our own table at lunch" (47). Nick believes Gatsby who credits Wolfsheim with rigging the 1919 World Series, an act recounted in the discourse of criminality. Nick comments, "It never occurred to me that one man could start to play with the faith of fifty million people--with the single-mindedness of a burglar blowing a safe" (48).

The text supports Nick's suspicions of Wolfsheim as a nefarious character. Wolfsheim recounts for the reader his association with Rosy Rosenthal who was killed across the street at the "Old Metropole." As Richard Lehan relates, Rosenthal was killed by police after refusing to pay extortion money to Charles Becker, a lieutenant in the New York police department who was later convicted (The Great

⁶ The results of this report were recounted in Secretary of Labor James Davis' "Jail or Passport" in The Saturday Evening Post, Dec. 1, 1923 (23+).

Gatsby 7). While Nick remembers the name "Becker," his position as a law authority is never mentioned nor are the police or extortion. The reader is left instead with an image of Rosy Rosenthal "shot three times in his full belly" and Wolfsheim who wants, after relating the story to Nick, to make a "business gonnegtion" (46).

Wolfsheim's shady past and physical anomalies are conflated with the sense that he gravely misunderstands the terms of American identity, at least as defined by eugenicists. He has already inserted himself in a fatherly way into Gatsby's life antithetical to obsessions with blood lines: "I raised him up out of nothing, right out of the gutter" (114).⁷ Despite Gatsby's lower class background, limited education and questionable job related activities, he considers Gatsby "a man of fine breeding." Wolfsheim concludes, "I said to myself: `There's the kind of man you'd like to take home and introduce to your mother and sister'" (47), a comment which speaks to the central anxiety of the

⁷ Barry Gross and Eric Fretz first identify Wolfsheim as Gatsby's father.

Gatsby is more Meyer Wolfsheim's son than Dan Cody's. He is perhaps even more Wolfsheim's than Henry C. Gatz's, too . . . , and though Mr. Gatz behaves more paternally now (he "started right away" as soon as he heard that Gatsby was dead), it was Wolfsheim who fed Gatsby and "raised him up from nothing." (194)

See "What Fitzgerald Thought of the Jews: Resisting the Type in 'The Hotel Child'" in New Essays on F. Scott Fitzgerald's Neglected Stories, ed. Jackson R. Bryer (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1996) 189-205.

text--the wrong type of person being brought home to "your mother and sister," in this case Gatsby.

Gatsby, figured as Black by Tom, carries new immigrant associations for Nick because of his association with Wolfsheim. Nick reinvokes Gatsby's connections with Wolfsheim when Gatsby watches the Buchanans' bedroom window after Tom has learned of Gatsby's relationship to Daisy, and she has killed Myrtle Wilson in Gatsby's car. Gatsby hides in the bushes, watching the two through the window to see if Tom will retaliate against her. Nick sees him and thinks, "For all I knew he was going to rob the house in a moment; I wouldn't have been surprised to see sinister faces, the faces of 'Wolfsheim's people,' behind him in the dark shrubbery" (96). Despite Tom and Daisy's rather dilapidated relationship, Nick gazes at the two eating inside and finds there to be "an unmistakable air of natural intimacy about the picture," a "naturalness" furthered it would seem by the permanence of a relationship founded on racial and class clarity--Tom, a Nordic, has married the upper class Southern belle Daisy, also a Nordic according to Tom.

Anxieties about bodies and identities manifests itself in the text in other ways. In the geographical center of the text, midway between the wealthy self-named Nordic, Tom of East Egg, and the immigrant populated New York City is the valley of ashes. Critically interpreted as a symbol of an alienating modernity, this place of George and Myrtle

Wilson's residence is depicted as a "graying" landscape, one which is not only graying in an industrial sense, but more importantly in an ethnic sense. The occupants include Greeks, Italians, Jews and passing Blacks who frame the graying George Wilson, the anaemic center of this ethnically diverse place.⁸

The valley itself is located at the crossroads of ethnic and racial change. Just before entering the valley on his way to the city with Gatsby, Nick catches a "glimpse of red-belted ocean-going ships" before speeding along by a "cobble slum," two signifiers of an immigrant presence. On the other side of the valley is the Queensboro Bridge, a place Nick initially see as dreamlike before it is marred by ethnic and racial realities.

Nick looks across the bridge and sees the city "for the first time, in its first wild promise of all the mystery and the beauty in the world" (45), a fantasy reminiscent of Nick's "Dutch sailors" who gaze at the continent in "an enchanted moment," invested in the "greatest of all human dreams" (121). The mystery and beauty, however, is interrupted by a "dead man" in a hearse followed by "carriages for friends" who "looked out at us with the tragic eyes and short upper lips of southeastern Europe"

⁸ See James Miller's essay "Fitzgerald's Gatsby: The World as Ash Heap" for a discussion of T.S. Eliot's The Waste Land, Gatsby's valley of the ashes, and the alienation of the modern world in The Critical Essays of F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ed. Scott Donaldson (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1984) 242-258.

(45). This disquieting image is followed by the sight of a "limousine" which "passed us, driven by a white chauffeur, in which sat three modish negroes, two bucks and a girl"

(45). Nick laughs aloud "as the yolks of their eyeballs rolled toward us in haughty rivalry" (45), yet that laughter seems qualified by anxiety--or by "terror" as Washington contends (43), as Nick comments, "Anything can happen now that we've slid over this bridge . . . anything at all" (45).

The valley itself, in between signs of movement, of social, ethnic and racial change, sits in stasis, as if already dead or dying. Nick paints it in ghostly terms, covered with ashes, as if the place itself--or its original identity--has been destroyed in an industrial fire. Through the center of the valley runs the railroad, once a signature of continental expansion, now providing transport to an immigrant populated city. Beside it sits a "gray, scrawny Italian child" setting off fireworks a few days before the Fourth of July, a description mirroring Grant's Mediterranean who has a "musculature and framework weak" in comparison to that of the Nordic" (18). Looking over the valley is an abandoned advertisement of Dr. T. J. Eckleburg's, a pair of eyes looking through glasses, belonging presumably to some "wild wag of an oculist" who set up his sign to "fatten his practice in the borough of

Queens" (15), again another Jew with strange eyes assigned the characteristics of "cupidity."

The new immigrant presence coexists with the existence of a fading presumably Nordic family. In the middle of the valley is George B. Wilson's corner gas station and automobile store, located on "sort of a compact Main Street." With a name reminiscent of middle class Anglo solidity, a business right out of a Norman Rockwell painting, this man seems a faded replica of the bounding masculine Nordic Tom. While Tom is strong and virile, George is a "blond, spiritless man, anaemic, and faintly handsome" with "light blue eyes" (17). Like the withered Anthony of The Beautiful and the Damned who loses his Nordic looks, physical strength and moral stature, this man has turned gray himself under the spell of not only industrialization but also immigration. As Stoddard wrote, "Being a high type, the Nordic is naturally a 'high standard' man. He requires healthful living conditions, and quickly pines when deprived of good food, fresh air, and exercise." With the onset of industrialization, "the Nordic suffered more than any one else. The cramped factory and the crowded city weeded out the big, blond Nordic with portentous rapidity" (164).

While Wilson isn't crowded, he certainly is covered with the ash of industrialization which ruins his landscape.

The ashes around him take the shape of what should be George's world; the valley is described by Nick as

a fantastic farm where ashes grow like wheat into ridges and hills and grotesque gardens; where ashes take the forms of houses and chimneys and rising smoke and, finally, with a transcendent effort, of men who move dimly and already crumbling through the powdery air. (15)

An American dream sequence seems present; images of the "heartland"--a farm, wheat fields, gardens, homes, the happy hearth burning--are built from dust as if the dreams themselves have disintegrated. The placement of the "gray" Italian child blowing up a "torpedo" (a kind of firecracker) for the Fourth of July is a part of this transformation as well as the presence of Dr. Eckleburg, whose looming eyes "brood solemnly over the dumping ground" (15).

The confusion of the landscape reflects the confusion of identities; the Nordic image of George, so blond and blue-eyed, has turned to the "color of cement" of his garage walls. He suffers financially while Dr. Eckleburg "fattens" his practice, and in his anaemic form, seems little removed from the "scrawny gray" Italian child.

Wilson's downfall is framed by not only the passing steamships and the incoming Southeastern Europeans and Blacks, but also his loss of control of his wife who seems confused about "breeding." Like Eckleburg's sign, the Jewish eyes a confusing "blue," America itself is unpleasantly mongrelized in Nick's eyes, creating a backdrop for the general sense of malaise. As Tom, Nick and Myrtle

travel to the city, they meet "a gray old man who bore an absurd resemblance to John D. Rockefeller" selling puppies of "an indeterminate breed" (18). This caricature of the American mogul claims the puppies' bloodlines as "Airedales." Myrtle buys a puppy despite its clearly mixed pedigree (Nick comments, "there was an Airedale concerned in it somewhere" [18]). As Bryan Washington points out,

In a text preoccupied with and intolerant of the racial and social hybridization of America, Myrtle's most unforgivable sin is perhaps her inability to distinguish a hybrid from a thoroughbred. Her lack of judgement applies not only to dogs but also, apparently, to men.

(42)

Myrtle married her husband because she thought "he knew something about breeding" only to find out he "wasn't fit to lick [her] shoe" (23). She is confused about "breeding," much like her sister who claims she "almost married a little kike" but turned him down once she realized "he was below me" (23).

Such dog breeding was often compared to breeding among humans. In the February 1922 issue of The Saturday Evening Post, the year The Great Gatsby takes place, Roberts harped upon the importance of identity based on racial purity:

[T]here are certain biological laws which govern the crossing of different breeds, whether the breeds be dogs or horses or men. These laws should be of considerable interest to a great many citizens of the United States for so many millions of non-Nordic aliens have poured into this country since 1880 that in several of America's largest cities these foreign born and their children far outnumber the native Americans. The inevitable result of such a state of affairs . . . is mongrelization. . . . [R]ace

purity is the prime essential for the well-being of his [a Nordic American's] children and the continued existence of the America of Washington and Franklin and Jefferson and Lincoln. ("Shutting the Sea Gates" 51)

Such anxieties about breeding and ethnic mixture finds expression in the textual portrayal of Myrtle Wilson's death. Nick depicts her passing as one of sheer bodily disintegration: "Her left breast was winging loose like a flap . . . [t]he mouth was wide open and ripped at the corners" (92). This physical devastation corresponds with a return of her body to the earth, a collapsing of boundaries between the body and its surroundings: "her life [was] violently extinguished . . . her thick dark blood [mingled] with the dust" (92). This return back to the earth, the literally fracturing of her body, is witnessed by a host of racial and ethnic others. "A pale well-dressed negro stepped near" to report the car who had hit her (94). The Greek Michaelis comforts the crying husband George. George gazes at the sign of Dr. Eckleburg's eyes "which had just emerged, pale and enormous, from the dissolving night" and imagines he has seen God: "God sees everything," repeated Wilson. Like the ash heap around him, Wilson now finally becomes "an ashen, fantastic figure" according to Nick (108), a point in agreement with George's gradual loss of identity. Myrtle's fractured being lies literally at the crossroads of racial and ethnic upheaval, metonymically suggesting how the Nordic body/identity is fractured by the arrival of ethnic/racial others. George no longer seems

Nordic at all; he is less than the "pale well-dressed Negro" in terms of wealth, less than the neighboring Greek Michaelis in his mind, and less than all-knowing Eckleburg who hovers above, imaginatively seeing everything. Having lost control of his wife sexually in life, George avenges her death, becoming the criminal (like the new immigrant), the murderer who confusedly kills the wrong man.

The text's ethnic angst--registered both as a fear and fascination with shifting identities--seems bound up with the idea that identity itself may be a performance, a textual performance linked only loosely to some referential reality, not to a stable definable body. The concern about Gatsby as either Black or a new immigrant send-off seems based on the idea that Gatsby has created an identity, thus rendering the whole concept of identity as physically based as unclear. Gatsby, of course, is the ultimate text, fabricating an identity in a unique imitation of the "real." Nick's concerns over changing ethnic identities seem interminably tied to this concept of textuality. The novel itself operates as a nostalgic wish for a time when identities were tied firmly to fixed bodies; who you were need not be defined as it was always already written onto the parameters of the body. To narrate an identity suggests that identities can be fabricated, simulated, created, linked to a sort of unhinged narrativity.

This narrative dissonance may actually speak to underlying eugenic fears about locating the "real." With their extended family charts and pedigrees, eugenicists sought to locate scientifically "germ plasm" (bodies) which would secure their identities on a genetic level across generations. This drive to produce fixed referents found expression when the anthropologist William Ripley, who introduced Madison Grant to the concept of the Nordic in his 1899 treatise The Races of Man, was asked to produce living examples of his racial types, a task he had difficulty carrying out. When asked to provide one example, he argued that it was not necessary "that we should be able to isolate any considerable number, nor even a single one, of our perfect racial types in life" (108). He put forth that he only had to show that certain traits proliferating in certain geographical areas, producing a racial type. As George Stocking notes, physical anthropologists had such difficulty locating a "perfect racial type" that a "fictive individual who embodied all the characteristics of the 'pure type' grew in the imagination, obliterating the individual variation of his fellows, until he stood forth for them as the living expression of the lost, but now recaptured, essence of racial purity" (59).

Nick, while not concerned with racial purity per se, is still concerned with a certain eugenic "purity" when he tries to find out Gatsby's background. He is looking

desperately for a referent for Gatsby's sign, something to undergird and back up the image of the man Gatsby proposes to be. Gatsby's mistake, according to Nick, is that he sounds like bits and pieces of collected phrases, not like he actually comes from the background he claims; he exists as a bit of misplaced textuality removed from any defining anchoring physicality.

On the car ride with Gatsby towards New York, Nick becomes obsessed with Gatsby's persona. Gatsby explains, "I am the son of some wealthy people in the Middle West--all dead now. I was brought up in America but educated at Oxford, because all my ancestors have been educated there for many years. It is a family tradition" (42-43). Gatsby spews the correct phrases--son of wealthy people from an relative homogenous ethnic region, raised in America, with a long line of "ancestors" already educated at Oxford--suggesting a family line of intelligent financially endowed men (an obsession for eugenicists who carefully tracked physical bodies, educational attainment and generational stability). But when he "hurried the phrase 'educated at Oxford,'" Nick feels that "his whole statement fell to pieces," an emotion he feels again in his response to Gatsby's recollections of European travels and war experiences. His words seem like "phrases . . . worn . . . threadbare" (43); Nicks feels he has been "skimming hastily through a dozen magazines" (44). When Gatsby shows him

physical proof of his identity in the form of an Oxford photograph and medal of honor, Nick is greatly relieved. He longs for physical referents to anchor a type of free-floating referentiality.

To present Nick's concerns over Gatsby's idea as a eugenic anxiety is not suggest that the text itself is not critical of a eugenic sensibility.⁹ It seems, in fact, to be the explicitly textual nature of a eugenic identity which Nick finds so disgusting. He finds Tom "pathetic in his concentration" on Stoddard's text (9); Tom "nibbles at the edge of stale ideas" (14). This irreverence for the science also finds expression in the text's treatment of Gatsby as someone who keeps "Volume One of 'Stoddard's Lectures'" tucked in his library.¹⁰

A drunk party goer, who Nick dubs "Owl Eyes," rummages through Gatsby's library and pulls out the Volume, finding

⁹ I am in agreement with Gidley who writes "Fitzgerald turned to Stoddard's book both to satirize its racism (in that such beliefs are used to present Tom as boor, bully and chauvinist) and to borrow ideas" (172).

¹⁰ Critics have debated the reference behind this text. Turlish claims the mention of "Volume One of the 'Stoddard Lectures'" in Gatsby's library is a direct reference to Lothrop Stoddard's The Rising Tide (443). M. Gidley disagrees, writing that the 'Lectures' in the title suggest that Fitzgerald is referring to John L. Stoddard's Lectures, originally published in 1905-6 and reprinted in 1925 by G. L. Shuman of Chicago. John Stoddard was Lothrop's father and wrote a series of travel volumes (172). Lothrop Stoddard also travelled widely and lectured (lectures which may have been reprinted) so I think the reference remains ambiguous. For my purposes, it would seem that Gatsby's desire to imitate Tom, the ultimate white upper-class male, he would not be beyond accumulating the latest racist tracts of the time which helped define aristocratic identities.

that it's not "cardboard," but "absolutely real." He holds up the lectures stating, "It's a bona-fide piece of printed matter. It fooled me. This fella's a regular Belasco. It's a triumph. What thoroughness! What realism!" He quickly replaces the book, "muttering that if one brick was removed the whole library was liable to collapse" (30), a type of textual humor which suggests Gatsby's "racial" identity is predicated on a "brick" of "stale ideas." Gatsby's act is a feigned "realism," a "triumph," an artistry not unlike that of David Belasco who, as Ronald Berman notes, was born a Portuguese-Jew and made his fortune producing shows with typical American themes.¹¹ By adding Stoddard's Lectures to his library, Gatsby has effectively performed an "American" identity, complete with Nordic influence built into his knowledge base; like Belasco, he, however, has had to create this identity, lacking the original "purity" expected according to eugenic strictures.

The textual salve for this disquietude--a disjunction between text and referent, text and body--comes to Nick in his return to fantasies of an earlier historical moment before ethnicity or class was an issue because presumably--in fantasy--everyone was always already the same. While Fitzgerald wrote of his Middle West later, articulating what he termed a "vaguest race prejudice" for the "Scandinavian blondes," a longing for a "glimpse of shining hair--a bright

¹¹ Berman, 131, note 8.

shock of a girl I'd never know," The Great Gatsby also registers a nostalgic return, despite its explicit satire of those who would pine for a homogenous America ("The Crack-Up" 60). While eugenicists were quite vocal and explicit about the importance of conflating race and nation, the text offers a more veiled message, a vision of ethnic similitude naturalized against the background of an American landscape.

As the text ends, Nick returns to the image of the train tracks, yet covers them not with the ashes of outlying New York, but with the snow of his Middle West. The ash heap of gray--new immigrants and faded Anglo-Americans--has turned to white in the face of his own ancestors. He remembers his college years when "[w]hen we pulled out into the winter night and the real snow, our snow, began to stretch out beside us and twinkle against the windows, and the dim lights of small Wisconsin stations moved by, a sharp wild brace came suddenly into the air" (117; emphasis mine). He and his companions draw "in deep breaths of it" and feel "unutterably aware of our identity with this country for one strange hour" (118). He continues, "That's my Middle West--not the wheat or prairies or the lost Swede towns, but the thrilling returning trains of my youth" (118). He writes, "I am a part of that . . . growing up in the Carraway house in a city where dwellings are still called through the decades by a family's name" (118). Nick's fantasy is one of unity with what Washington calls the nation's "white

cultural center"; he is in a whitened landscape juxtaposed with a heritage of people who for decades have had the same names. He remembers a moment before Blacks arrived, before the new immigrants spread, before that "bridge was crossed over" and "anything could happen at all." As Slater writes, Nick's version of the American dream "is exclusive and provincial. It is basically limited to affluent Middle Western Americans who are white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, or willing and able to be acculturated to WASP modes" (59).¹² Fitzgerald returns to the concept of body/identity, attempting to link a nostalgic return where all bodies were white and likewise evoked a certain sameness and continuity of identity which never changed across time.

¹² The text's nativist impulses have not gone unrecognized by critics. Richard Berman provides the richest reading, sinking the text within a range of racial debates of a wide group of popular thinkers. And Bryan Washington traces the miscegenation theme, as it intersects with Henry James' Daisy Miller from the 1890s on. Walter Benn Michaels explores how a "'physical' America" becomes a "spiritual one," when the text exchanges Tom's racism for Nick's aesthetic one--when, like the Dutch sailors, Nick feels "compelled into an aesthetic contemplation" of what it means to be essentially American (203-204). Perhaps Houston Baker offers the most startling response in his response to Tom whom he considers "a more honestly self-conscious representation of the threat that some artists whom we call 'modern' felt in the face of a new world of science, war, technology, and materialism. . . . What really seems under threat are not towers of civilization but rather an assumed supremacy of boorishly racist, indisputably sexist, and unbelievably wealthy Anglo-Saxon males" (4). I agree with Baker there. What's seems threatened is a class and national identity which became registered through racial terms; by turning to race, authors like Fitzgerald could return to an imagined homogenous body, a physical body which carried with it all the referents for self definition.

Postscript: The Changing (or not so Changing) Times

Fitzgerald continued to explore the parameters of the body throughout his work, examining in his magazine stories the vagaries of ancestry, physiognomy and somatology and their relationship to character. It seems that once the bodily shape changes, no longer reflecting the particularities of stereotyped ancestry, so changes the character. Fitzgerald differed from eugenicists in allowing this shift, while inherently retaining the logic that bodies are sure indicators of moral and social well-being. If civilization can't be saved by returning to a homogenous ethnic and racial past, then perhaps the future can be changed by re-seeing ethnic bodies as not grotesque shapes, but nearly classical figures. So while he damned new immigrants outright in his later recorded memories of the 1920s, in his short stories, he sought alternatives for welcoming the new immigrant home.

In 1929, he recorded the downfall of Paris, annoyed that those new American immigrants had gained wealth and were infiltrating this exile's home away from home. In November, 1931, in "Echoes of the Jazz Age," he looked back and remembered how

by 1928 Paris had grown suffocating. With each new shipment of Americans spewed up by the boom the quality fell until toward the end there was something sinister about the crazy boatloads. They were no longer the simple pa and ma and son and daughter, infinitely superior in their qualities of kindness and

curiosity to the corresponding class in Europe, but fantastic neanderthals who believed something, something vague, that you remembered from a very cheap novel. I remember an Italian on a steamer who promenaded the deck in an American Reserve Officer's uniform picking quarrels in broken English with Americans who criticized their own institutions in the bar. I remember a fat Jewess, inlaid with diamonds, who sat behind us at the Russian ballet and said as the curtain rose, "Thad's luffly, dey ought to baint a bicture of it." This was low comedy, but it was evident that money and power were falling into the hands of people in comparison with whom the leader of a village of Soviet would be a gold-mine of judgement and culture. There were citizens travelling in luxury in 1928 and 1929 who in the distortion of their new condition, had the human value of Pekinese, bivalves, cretins, goats. (12)

The rhetoric of the early and mid-twenties seems little changed, particularly from the characterization of the new immigrants as "cretins," like William Allen White's "morons," mental imbeciles who had no right to make money. They are partly to blame for their idiocy because as "fantastic neanderthals," they "believed something vague, that you remembered from a very cheap novel." The textual cretins of Gatsby--whether that be bungling Tom or his struggling imitator--are now the immigrants themselves who adopt uncritically, it would seem, beliefs in "American institutions" which "real" Americans can more fairly judge. The text uncritically adopts, however, its own "American" attitudes, "vaguely" remembering some perfect family--"the simple pa and ma and son daughter" who were the first to vacation in Paris. This family, of course, was a racial family, not Italian, not Jewish, by default Nordic, the prevailing term of this nativist age.

But in his short stories, he exploded such dichotomies, investigating the possibilities for changing body types as a way of accepting ethnic types into the fold. For example, in "Not in the Guidebook," a short story written immediately after Fitzgerald sent The Great Gatsby off to Scribner's, he experiments with shifts in bodily shape and their incumbent character changes. His heroine, Milly, is a "frail, dark, appealing girl with the spiritual, haunted eyes that so frequently accompany South European beauty." Despite her ancestry--"her mother and father had been respectively Czech and Rumanian"--, "Milly had missed the overshort upper lip and the pendulous, pointed nose that disfigure the type; her features were regular and her skin was young and olive-white and clear." She has features reminiscent of The Beautiful and the Damned's Gloria Gilbert who had decidedly classical features: "an exquisite regularity of the nose and upper lip" (57). Milly has lost what has characterized her as grotesque--"the pendulous, pointed nose"--and even her skin has lost, for the most part, its characterizing feature; instead of just "olive," it is "olive-white." She is married to a lower class Brooklynite, Jim Cooley,--a "pimply young man with eyes of a bright marbly blue"--whose face speaks of oozing pus, leaking bodily boundaries. His physical body, rather gross, reflects his own permeability of self. He represents himself as a war hero, taking attack plans from a dead German's pocket. Yet when they travel to

Europe, Milly learns Jim's story is all a hoax. He abandons her, keeping her inherited money, in a French train station. She is rescued by an American Bill Driscoll, who runs a tour service. As the narrative turn of the story would have it, Bill actually stole the plans from the German--therefore is the real hero--while Jim stole them from him. Milly finds her "original" and divorces Jim; as an immigrant, with her changed physiognomy (no longer a racial "type"), she earns a place in an "American" marriage.

Likewise, Fifi Schwartz of "The Hotel Child" (written early in 1930, published in The Saturday Evening Post, 31 January 1931) earns a reprieve from Jewish physiological and character stereotypes despite that she fears she has a "big nose." Written at the turn of the decade, this story portrays a young Jewish woman whose body and facial characteristics speak of an incipient beauty, one which coincides with a certain inner innocence, a change from the "fat Jewess" of Fitzgerald's "Crack-Up" remembrances or the dark, largely deformed immigrant head and character of Meyer Wolfsheim. Fifi, in fact, shines in her physical beauty, and by the end of the story, the text makes clear she survives those socialites who damn her and attempt to confine her to the social limits of being an American Jew.

The narrator describes her as

[a]n exquisitely, radiantly beautiful Jewess whose fine, high forehead sloped gently up to where her hair . . . burst in waves and curlicues of soft dark red. Her lips were real, breaking close to the surface from

the strong young pump of her heart. Her body was so assertively adequate that one cynic had been heard to remark that she always looked as if she had nothing on underneath her dresses; but he was probably wrong, for Fifi had been as thoroughly equipped for beauty by man as by God. (599)

While her name trivializes her--reminiscent of the Pekinese owned by a "tall Englishwoman" with bloodlines in the story--she seems far removed from the "Pekinese" of Fitzgerald's anti-immigrant diatribe of 1931 when he describes the new immigrants (including the "fat Jewess")--"travelling in luxury in 1928 and 1929 who, in the distortion of their new condition, had the human value of Pekinese" (198). Her body is "equipped for beauty by man as by God," a point reminiscent of the Nordic Gloria Gilbert's representation as "Beauty." Gloria represents, in her beauty, some type of classical woman who has graced American shores from a Grecian land. In contrast, the Anglo-Saxon of this text, who owns the Pekinese . . . is the foolish character of the text; she rescues a Count from jail on the basis of his title--he is portrayed as a thief and seducer.

Fifi's physical grace and beauty reflect an inner intelligence and verve. Fifi maintains the moral center of the story, a character distinct from the Englishwoman's friends, the affected Taylors who were "Europeanized Americans." The "true" Americans now have become the new immigrant, abjected outsiders: "they had reached a position where they could hardly be said to belong to any nation at all; certainly not to any great power, but perhaps to a sort

of Balkanlike state composed of people like themselves." While "they considered Fifi was as much of a gratuitous outrage as a new stripe in the flag," they are actually the ones who don't belong. Fifi, who discovers the Count's thieving ways, returns to America to press her case against him. She will survive even though she realizes "everybody is so bigoted there" (605).

Fitzgerald's play with bodily form speaks to the desire to anchor physical form to definitive characteristics of identity such as intelligence and standards of morality, even if it includes transformations of "racial type." His play with shifting physical shapes suggests a need to stop the collapse of "civilization" as people like Tom Buchanan knew it and find another way to reintegrate the new "types" even if it meant rewriting contours of the body.

While Fitzgerald repeatedly rewrites and rephrases eugenic logic, he always returns to the same site to find an anchor for the meaning of identity, a point which suggests the difficulties of escaping the body as a textual ground for identity. It also, however, raises the possibility of rewriting social and ethnic hierarchies based on re-envisioning "types."

CONCLUSION

Nordicism clearly functioned as a concept which took hold in the country, especially in Northeastern industrial areas where the new immigrants primarily settled. It did not, however, stand alone as the only discourse which aimed at reasserting a return to an idealized past. The study raises questions about the relationship between Nordicism and other ideological movements of the century which sought to anchor some type of white identity to another era. For example, eugenicists and the Agrarians both lamented the loss of pastoral spaces. Eugenicists believed that Nordic health was deteriorating in Northern cities; their bodies not well suited for industrial work and instead flourished best in the open farmland air. Was Agrarianism, with its emphasis on a pre-industrial racialized landscape like Nordicism, an attempt to reclaim a lost social order when race was so integral to social hierarchy? One might also consider the relationship between the Klan and the eugenicists. The Klan adopted eugenic rhetoric, claiming the term "Nordic" as its own for a period, but developed their philosophical system out of a far different social ideology, steeped in old world concepts of extended families (clans) recreated and integrated in a complex system of loyalties and titles. While eugenics gained popularity mostly in the Northeast, the Klan, during the twenties, found a greater foothold in the Southern and Western states.

It too operated on the concept of an idealized moment of national white purity, fearful that the country would be overwhelmed by Jews, Catholics, blacks, and new immigrants. At its peak in 1923 with a reported eight million members, it attracted a wide following after the popularity of D. W. Griffin's release of The Birth of a Nation in 1915. All three groups--Agrarians, the eugenicists, the Klan--offer competing narratives on the meaning of whiteness. Investigating the relationship between the three might yield insights into the historical and regional definitions of the term.

One also might consider the relationship between Nordicism and the representatives of Scandinavians in MidWestern fiction of the 1920s. While eugenicists claimed that conquering and settling the land made the Nordic so strong and robust, Scandinavian immigrant writers who had settled in the Midwest told a far different story. In Ole Rolvaag's Giants in the Earth (1927), the Norwegian immigrant Per Hansa starts a farm in the Midwest with his wife; the process of reclaiming the land damages his character and marriage, then finally ends his life. In an Landsmaend (1908), Carl Hansen depicts settlers who are not invigorated by the work; instead they diminish physically. A Dane comes over to find that his daughter "who home in Denmark had been a lovely, slim girl was now fat, stooped, with a grey face and deep wrinkles" (53). In addition, many

of the immigrants longed to hang onto their own customs and languages in contrast with the eugenic concept that Nordics assimilate easily, forming a cohesive national whole. In H.A. Foss's Valborg (1928), an elderly Swedish immigrant describes her pleasure in abandoning English in favor of practicing her faith in her home tongue. All three novels raise questions about the eugenic interest in creating a Nordic narrative which makes invisible the current population of Scandinavians who are indeed ethnically diverse and troubled by the difficulties of creating a life in this country.

In addition to investigating historical relationships between racial discourses and immigrant groups, it remains imperative that we remain sensitive to the political ramifications of anti-immigrant sentiment. Quotas established by the Immigration Act of 1924 were not lifted until 1965. In addition to keeping out all Asian groups, these quotas prevented the United States from allowing in Jews who might have been saved during the Holocaust. Immigration remains a potent source of public controversy, whether it be Proposition 209 in California banning health care services and education to undocumented aliens or the English-as-the-official-language law voters sought to pass in Miami, Florida. And immigrants themselves remain an object of stereotyping whether it's the "dirty Mexicans" or "sneaky Puerto-Ricans" who are coming to steal jobs.

The body itself does not lose its potency. As cultural theorists, we must continue to investigate splits in bodily form when bodies become the object of public scrutiny and economic debate. Images of the overweight fecund welfare (often raced) "grotesque" mother contrast sharply with the clean-cut suit-wearing "classical" politician fueling dichotomies of difference which seem to replicate eugenic concepts of identity. In the field of literature, we can remain aware of the ways criticism can inadvertently recreate categories of difference. Whether its a text one claims represents the nation or one that speaks for all "feminists," the racial dynamics of a text and its systems of representation of bodies should not be ignored.

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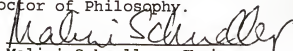
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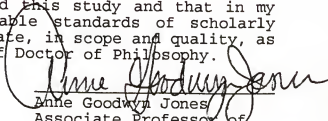
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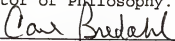
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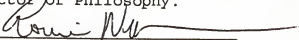
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August, 1998

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